National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XIX. NO. 35. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1859. WHOLE NO. 971.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, 138 Nassau St., New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

107 *North Fifth St., above Arch, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, New York.*"

RATE OF ADVERTISING, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

THE CHANCES OF BLACK REPUBLICAN SUCCESS.

From The (Washington) States.

In addition to the variety of views which prevails in the councils of the Black Republican party, and which will suffice of itself to obstruct their success in 1860, they are even more seriously embarrassed by the want of an available issue for the canvass.

We make no account of the elements of opposition in the South. They are too few and too feeble to exert an appreciable influence on the results of the election. Even supposing it possible that they may unite in support of the Black Republican candidate, that very association will disarm them of all power. We anticipate a repetition of the last canvass. It will be another struggle for sectional domination. The Democracy will reappear in their historic rôle of champions of the Constitution, and the Black Republican party alone will contest the prize of victory.

In 1856, the opposition were singularly favored by the accidents of fortune. The extreme pro-slavery bias of the Pierce Administration had alienated the popular sympathies of the North from the Democratic party. The repeal of the Missouri restriction supplied the adversary with the very issue which, of all others, was the most available for his purpose. It was intelligible by the instincts of the masses; it presented a case of apparent injustice which obliged the Democracy to assume a position of apology and defence; above all, it gave color of truth to the charge that the South meditated the adoption of an aggressive policy, and the propagation of its system by the agency of the Federal government. In consequence, the popular sentiment of the North was inflamed to an unprecedented pitch of enthusiasm, which was intensified in the progress of the canvass by the chastisement of Sumner and other incidents of similar import. So it was that men hitherto of moderate views and conservative connections were precipitated into the Black Republican movement, and the Democracy hardly maintained a foothold in the anti-slavery section.

The opposition will go into the contest of 1860 under very different auspices. Instead of being exultant with a consciousness of new-born power, they will be disheartened by the recollection of a defeat sustained in spite of every advantage. Instead of the propitious tendencies of a public opinion which an accidental combination of circumstances had prepared for their purpose, they will encounter the reaction which always follows an excessive development of popular feeling. On the other hand, the Democracy of the North will descend in the field without the embarrassment of insupportable issues, and with the energy of spirit inspired by a consciousness of growing strength and a desire to retrieve past disasters. The result of their achievements within the last two years furnishes a measure of their future performance. The election of 1860 will be coincident with the culmination of the conservative reaction now in progress throughout the North. More important still, it will occur after the inflammatory issues of Kansas and Lecompton have spent their force, and at the moment when the temper of the public mind will be most susceptible to the influences of patriotism.

Under these circumstances, with so much of distraction and despondency on one side, and so much of hope, energy, and favorable augury on the other, does any rational man donbt the triumph of Democracy in 1860?

It would be uncandid if we omitted reference to a condition which may confound these brilliant calculations. For we can imagine a contingency in which the Democracy may be beaten after all the encouragement of present indications. The resources of human folly are infinite, and it is possible the Democratic party may yet throw away its advantages. It may either paralyze its strength by schism in its own bosom or it may present an issue which will enable the opposition to retrieve their fortunes. The latter is the more likely alternative.

In fact, we have an assurance that the Black Republican politicians in Congress calculate with confidence on the indiscretion of their adversary. They perceive the deplorable disorganization among the forces of the Democracy, and the want of the authority of a recognized leader. They are encouraged by experience to expect any amount of absurd suggestion from individuals who are less concerned for the common interest than ambitious of personal notoriety. Indeed, they have distinguished the particular occasion out of which they anticipate the development of an issue that shall rend the Democracy asunder and restore the *prestige* of the Black Republican party. We allude to the agitation for the revival of the slave trade. With the purpose of introducing the subject before the country in a shape the most embarrassing to the representatives of the South, an Abolition Senator has proposed a measure which contemplates more stringent legislation for the suppression of the traffic. Will any Democrat be deceived by this artifice? Will any man of sense from the South permit himself to be made the instrument of Seward's unscrupulous ambition? In view of the disastrous consequences which a single false step may entail on the country and the party, we invoke Democrats to the utmost circumspection in respect of this and every other issue of a sectional import.

CUBA NOT IN THE MARKET.

From The (Washington) States.

If the President's proposition for the purchase of Cuba was not intended as a "tub to the whale" of public opinion, but as a *bona fide* bid for that valuable possession, he will acknowledge some disappointment at the effect of his suggestion on the inhabitants of the island.

For ourselves, we have long since renounced all hope of acquiring Cuba by any such expedient. After the summary and contemptuous rejection of President Polk's offer, we despaired of securing the island by purchase. It was not the inadequacy of the price which prompted a refusal of the overture, but the impulse of wounded susceptibility and offended dignity. The distinguished trait of the Spanish character is a lofty and unreasonable pride—a pride which misfortune has irritated into a morbid sensibility, and from which even inexorable necessity can wring no concession derogatory to the historic renown of the nation. It was this feeling which animated and sustained them in their struggle with the great Napoleon; it is this feeling which now impels them to repulse every overture for the cession of the fairest province of their dominions. Sooner than submit to the conquest of Cuba, they would exhaust every resource of resistance; sooner than surrender it for a pecuniary consideration, they would desolate its smiling surface with fire and slaughter. With a nation so rich in ancestral renown and so tenacious of glorious tradition, money can offer no equivalent for a loss of honor. Whether we be disposed to mock or respect a pride which survives the monuments of material power, we must admit that it opposes an insuperable obstacle to the acquisition of Cuba in the mode recommended by the President.

The effect of the Executive message on the inhabitants of Cuba discloses the impossibility of reconciling them to the sale of the island. They repudiate the idea with unutterable indignation, and protest a resolution to perpetuate their dependency upon the Spanish crown. The associations of race, language, history and religion, to omit any mention of political repugnance, forbid the thought of separation from the mother country, and incorporation with a republic of alien blood and unfriendly faith. Such is the declaration of the Cuban people, uttered with all the solemnity of an official remonstrance, and directed in response to the seductive overtures of the American government.

The time was when the inhabitants of Cuba writhed under the yoke of Spanish dominion; the time was when they longed for admission into the American Confederacy. This feeling has been replaced by another sentiment—by a sentiment which cherishes the connection with Europe and repudiates the thought of association with the United States. We cannot pause for inquiry into the causes of so signal a revolution in the popular opinion of Cuba. It suffices for our present purpose to distinguish the fact—reserving for another opportunity an explanation of the influences which have operated the change.

After these revelations, he must be an incorrigible bigot indeed who still persists in the opinion that Cuba may be acquired by purchase. We are satisfied that a statesman of Mr. Buchanan's practical sagacity will at once dismiss the idea as the chimera of an exploded policy. He will prefer that the suggestion of his message be covered with the silence of oblivion. Congress will hardly disturb its repose.

What then? Shall we renounce the hope of acquiring Cuba? In all candor, we reply that the object appears unattainable for the present. We do not pretend to anticipate future developments; but except the aspect of affairs be entirely changed by some event of great and pervading consequence, the annexation of Cuba must be regarded as an impossible achievement. At any rate, we trust the American government will desist from all talk about the purchase of the island. We are equally concerned that no inconsiderate and absurd proposition for the seizure of Cuba, as an indemnity for unsatisfied claims, will be entertained by Congress. He who asks justice must do justice; and before the United States propose to coerce the collection of their debts against Spain, they should discharge the obligations which Spain holds against them.

If the acquisition of Cuba is still to be promoted as an object of national policy, let it be pursued in a manly way, and be justified by adequate considerations. Let us disdain the expedients of the counting-house and the violence of the highway. Let us move only from the promptings of a legitimate policy, and be directed in our course by the principles of justice and honor.

SENTIMENTS ON THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE SOUTH.

From The Savannah Republican, Dec. 31.

Those who seek to justify the reopening of the trade in African slaves rely in defence of their opinions and policy upon two grounds. The first is, that the laws of Congress prohibiting the trade and declaring those who may engage in it guilty of piracy are unconstitutional—that it is beyond the power of Congress to say that the laboring population of any State shall not be added to in such manner as the people of such State shall consider most expedient and proper. The second ground of justification is, that allowing the laws to be constitutional, that instrument having been set at defiance by the rescuers of fugitive slaves and nullifiers at the North, it is no longer binding as a compact upon the people of the South.

It is an effectual answer to the first proposition to say that whatever individual members of society may think or say of the laws, the judicial authorities of the country—the only power competent to pass upon them—prominent among whom are two able Judges residing in two Southern States (Carolina and Georgia), have delivered from the bench well considered decisions, declaring that those laws are constitutional, and that Congress had a perfect right to pass them. This simple fact is a complete extinguisher to the objection.

As regards the second objection, we think those who make it have certainly not seriously considered its import. Have they not, time and again, and ten thousand times over, denounced the slave rescuers and opponents of law at the North as an infamous band of traitors and fanatical knaves? Has not the whole vocabulary of epithets been emptied upon their unprincipled and guilty heads, and have we not all denounced their conduct, in setting up a higher law than the Constitution, as base and revolutionary? Who, again, are the men at the North who engage in such disgraceful and treasonable proceedings? It is true one State has endorsed such conduct in a time of high political excitement, by legislative enactments, yet she is beginning to feel the dishonor of bad faith and to inaugurate measures of repeal.

The men at the North who engage in this disreputable conduct are free negroes and mobs of white vagabonds equally, if not more, despicable, all combined under the lead of a few crafty fanatics, who have no countenance from the sober and patriotic elements of society. Is it the example of such men that the South is called on to imitate? Is it on a platform side by side with such creatures that you would place the decent, respectable and law-abiding people of Georgia? No one, we apprehend, will stand up boldly and counsel such a policy; and yet such is the effect of the argument, and you can make nothing else of it. The friends of the slave trade would put us in that position, and yet there is not a man of them who would not consider himself insulted and call for pistols and coffee for a dozen, did any one intimate that he is to be found in the very company that he recommends so earnestly to others. We think the advice bad, and the company worse, and shall not only reject both, but prevail on all we can to follow our example. We have, from the very beginning, considered these Northern higher law men as a despicable clan of fanatics and fools, reckless alike of their own character and the best interests of the country; and we shall not, at this day, when we are doing what we can to thwart their wicked designs, compromise ourselves by following in their footsteps and setting the laws of our country at defiance. Even should a whole State at the North, by a unanimous vote of her citizens, prove recreant to her constitutional obligations, it would be no reason why Georgia should place herself in a like position. Nor would it be ground of complaint against the Federal Government and a license to resist its laws, while that government has done its constitutional duty by passing all necessary laws for our protection.

We think, then, these two arguments are effectually disposed of.

But the argument of the friends of law and order in the case now claiming public attention does not stop here. There is a higher and more sacred ground that they occupy—one to which there can be no demurrer, sophistical or otherwise, and from which they can appeal to the sense of right and loyalty of every Georgian. Granting, for the argument, that the North has violated her constitutional obligations, that her bad faith has relieved us from our share of the compact, and that the Federal Government has forfeited the respect and alliance of Southern men—let all these things be so, there yet remains upon the citizens of Georgia a prohibition which no man will dare say he has a right to set aside. The good old State from whose bosom we sprung, or by whom we have been protected in our rights and liberty, has never yet forfeited her claim to the respect and obedience of her children. It is her Constitution and her laws that we now assert in opposition to the African slave trade, and where is the man that will dare come forward and fling defiance at her commands? Who will say that those who yield obedience to her behests are Black Republicans in principle and enemies to the South?

In the eleventh section, fourth article, of the Constitution of Georgia is to be found the following clause:

"There shall be no future importation of slaves into this State from Africa or any foreign place, after the first day of October next" (1798).

There it stands, in our very organic law, the solemn condemnation of our patriot fathers upon this illicit traffic. Let every Georgian read it and bow to the majesty of the laws of his own State, whatever he may think of federal behests and enactments.

But again: the Legislature of Georgia, for the purpose of giving effect to this provision of the Constitution, and in aid of the federal law, on the 19th of December, 1817, passed a statute, from which we copy the following sections:

Sec. 1. It shall be lawful for his Excellency the Governor, and he is hereby authorized, to appoint some fit and proper person to proceed to all such ports and places within this State as have or may have, or may hereafter hold, any negroes, mulattoes or persons of color, as may have been or hereafter may be seized or condemned under the above recited act of Congress (act 1808), and who may be subject to the control of this State, and the person so appointed shall have full power and authority to ask, demand and recover and receive all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, and to convey the same to Milledgeville and place them under the immediate control of the Executive of this State.

Sec. 2. His Excellency the Governor is hereby empowered to cause the said negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, to be sold, after giving sixty days' notice in a public gazette, in such manner as he may think best calculated for the interests of this State (Cobb's Digest, p. 988).

In addition to this, the Legislature of Georgia, on the 19th December, 1818, passed the following act:

Whereas numbers of African slaves have been illegally introduced into the State in direct violation of the laws of the United States and of this State—

Sec. 1. Be it therefore enacted, That for the encouragement of those who have used or shall use their efforts to suppress this traffic, by informing against and seizing the slaves so imported, they shall, on final condemnation of the same, as forfeited to the State, receive one-tenth of the amount of the net proceeds of the sales of the same: Provided, nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to extend farther back than the year 1817 (Cobb's Digests, p. 994).

Awful.—The editor of *The Jackson Mississippian* thus welcomes Senator Douglas to the South:

"Covered with the odium of such detestable heresies—stained with the dishonor of a treachery without a parallel in the political history of the country—fresh from the warm embraces of Seward and Greeley and Giddings—this man has dared to present himself in the South, to look her honest sons and daughters in the face and to ask their hospitality. We would not arouse the violent passions of men. We would stay the avenging rod of justice rather than the chivalry of the South should be tarnished by a single rash or unseemly act; but yet, if smarting under the keen sense of cruel wrong—if goaded by the conviction of outrageous injustice, she were to welcome her betrayer 'with bloody hands to the hospitable grave'—the gibbet or the faggot—there would be a strong array of irresistible facts in the case to extenuate the act."

Selections.

JOHN ADAMS: THE FEDERALIST.

A LECTURE BY REV. THEODORE PARKER.

From The Boston Atlas and Bee, Jan. 5.

The lecture last evening in the Fraternity course was by Rev. Theodore Parker, on the subject previously announced—John Adams. The audience, in consequence of the severe storm, was exceedingly small, but made up in enthusiasm what they lacked in numbers, frequently interrupting the lecturer with spontaneous and hearty applause. The address was somewhat lengthy—occupying over an hour and a half. It gave evidence of most thorough research and careful analysis of the distinguished man of whom it treated, and displayed all the characteristics of thought and style which so peculiarly mark all Mr. Parker's public efforts.

The lecturer commenced as follows: In 1634, the General Court of this Colony made a grant of land at Mount Wollaston to enlarge the Town of Boston, and in 1636 the inhabitants of Boston granted some of this land in lots to individual settlers or non-residents, who presently formed a church and settled a minister. In 1640 they were organized into a town called Braintree. I find forty acres of land granted to Henry Adams. He died in 1646, and left an estate which was appraised at £75 13s. It consisted of land, a barn and house, which contained one kitchen, one parlor, and one chamber in the attic, wherein dwelt the eleven persons that made up the family. The inventory mentions three beds, which, I suppose, contained them all at night. He left, likewise, one cow, one heifer, swine, some old books, and a single silver spoon. He was grandfather's grandfather to the second President of the United States. It was not a very conspicuous family then, though it has since borne two Presidents, and is still strong and flourishing, promising I know not how great future glories (applause). On the other side of the sea, antiquaries find the family old and baronial. Indeed, the name would justify a larger genealogical claim, for certainly the Adamses ought to be an old family and a great; according to received accounts, they are the first in the world (laughter).

John Adams was born the 19th of October, 1735. His father, of the same name, then forty-four years old, and married but the year before, was a farmer of small means, living in that part of Braintree which is now Quincy—a farmer in summer and a shoemaker in winter, so says the local tradition. When he died in 1760, he left an estate of thirteen hundred and thirty pounds—four or five thousand dollars in our money. He was an officer in the Braintree militia, several years one of the Honorable Selectmen of the town, and for many years a deacon of the church. He seems to have been a well-educated man, thoughtful, thrifty, useful, with considerable capacity for business, genuine religiousness, great strength of character, and uprightness. Integrity was a virtue which his son might inherit, as well as transmit, if virtue run in families. John was the oldest child of a family which at length counted twelve—a number not then thought very numerous.

Mr. Parker reviewed the life of Adams, dividing it into epochs as follows: His childhood and youth; his doings as a lawyer in Suffolk County; his work as a politician in Congress; his services as a diplomatist in Europe; his conduct as Executive of the United States, first Vice-President and then President, and finally his demeanor in private life, from the time he left the Presidential chair till his death.

We regret that the pressure of other important matters obliges us to pass at once over all this part of the lecture, which abounded in interesting reminiscences of those stirring times, and come to the exposition of the character of John Adams, as given by Mr. Parker. Mr. P. said:

I have not much time to speak of Mr. Adams's character, but will briefly refer to it, dividing it, for convenience sake, into his intellectual, moral and religious nature.

He had a great mind; quick, comprehensive, analytical, not easily satisfied save with ultimate causes; tenacious of its treasures, his memory did not fail him until he became old. With the exception of Franklin, I think of no American in the eighteenth century who was intellectually his superior; for, though Hancock and Jefferson, nay, Jay, Madison and Marshall, really surpassed him in some high qualities, yet none seems quite so great, on the whole. His understanding was ample. Though constitutionally averse to regular, serious and long-continued attention, he yet easily gathered what lay before him, and fittingly reproduced it when occasion required. He gathered a great amount of various knowledge, for he was a sharp observer of human affairs. Yet he attended but little to the world of matter; and save for the economical purposes of agriculture, or for the immediate enjoyment of its beauty, he never attended to the world of matter about him. He had no eye for science, no taste for it, except when stimulated by the presence of Franklin. At the age of 40, he was the ablest lawyer in America—the most learned in historic lore, the most profound in the study of first principles. He always went to the fountains of English law, and did not scruple to follow the stream through all its many tributary channels. His first opinion was often faulty, but his final thought was commonly deep, strong and represented the true relations of things. Hence, in spite of his great defects, he had naturally instinctive sagacity, and always a sound judgment. In respect to this, I think he has not had justice done him, either by friend or foe. But in all the great acts of his life—in his defence of Capt. Preston—his controversy with Gov. Hutchinson—his impeachment of the Judges—his appointment of Ministers to France, when the nation said "No," and the like—all these things indicate sound practical judgment.

But he lacked method in his intellectual processes. He had not that genius which is its own method, nor yet the sober, systematic habit of work, which, though seemingly slow, is found at last so swift and sure. He did things "helter-skelter." In his administration as President, there was no rule for anything. He had a fair imagination; above the average of the educated men of that time, but not equal to his understanding. Besides, he had small opportunity for cultivating it in early life, or developing it in later. Yet he was rather fond of poetry, had an ear for music, and was charmed with the painting and sculpture and grand architecture which so astonish the American in Europe. He had a great reason, though its culture was defective, and his method capricious and uncertain. He had not the calmness for a philosopher, yet he always looked for the causes of things, studied carefully and demanded proof.

His philosophical and metaphysical turn appears in all his writings. He was bold in abstract speculation; always bottomed his work on ultimate principles of nature. He is often profound in his remarks; and I think no American politician has ever uttered more profound truths than fell from the mighty mind of John Adams. He certainly had not a mind of the highest class. If he was the first American of that day after Franklin, he was second to him by a long interval, and he had several competitors, not very far behind. He was not quite well-balanced; he tipped this way now, then that.

Thus constituted, he was an originator, but not a great one. He was often in advance of his time, especially in planning his scheme for universal religious toleration, and his scheme for the government of the individual States. He ran before the foremost of his time in seeing the necessity for a Navy and for a Military Academy. He sought the Military Academy in 1789, and founded it in 1799.

As an organizer, he had to deal with political ideas and construct them into a Constitution, but he had only the smallest talent for organizing men. He could plan a government with great skill, but he was never a practical politician, who understands the art of organizing men about his idea, to defend his measures, and make his thought their thing. Here there were many before him, and hence the great failure of his life. Constructing institutions, he could not organize men, nor manage them when organized. He was not a good administrator, except of his own private affairs, where, perhaps, his thrifty wife was the presiding spirit. He had no system, but was governed by the enthusiasm of the moment. In the most important matters, he often went to work fluently, with haste, and without good heed. As a diplomatist, at Paris, in 1780, he ran violently down steep places, careless who he ran over or against. In 1798, he appointed Washington Commander-in-Chief, never consulting him beforehand. An hour's explanation, or a letter of a few pages, would have saved all the quarrel which grew out of that act. He acted often from personal whim and caprice. In a time of great political crisis, in 1799, he left the seat of government and went off to Quincy, where he stayed months long, leaving affairs to manage themselves, or his treacherous Cabinet to manage them against him.

He was not successful as a diplomatist abroad. When he was Vice-President, Washington doubted his fitness for any foreign position. In his administration, he was not great or prosperous. He could not organize a nation well, nor manage his party. Yet it must be confessed that he won a great diplomatic victory in Holland, where he was called "The Washington of Diplomacy."

John Adams had great moral virtues and great vices. Able-bodied, compact and vigorous, though not always healthy, he had physical courage—in scholarly men, it is a great virtue, and rare. He says he meant to be a soldier, but doubted whether he should be a hero or a coward. There was no occasion for the doubt. There was not a drop of cowardly blood in those manly, impetuous veins. He inherited what we call "*spunk*," and we all know he transmitted it (loud applause). He had moral courage in a heroic degree. He could not only face the bullets of a British man-of-war, but he could confront the wrath of his own friends for defending Preston in 1770, and bear the indignation and jeers of the Federal party in 1779, for his adherence to what he believed to be the right. Let him only be sure he was right, and John Adams only feared to be false to his conscience. When the Judges of Massachusetts went under the golden chain of Britain in 1773, and the Governor held it low, in order to have them stoop more low before the people, Adams said, "Impeach the Judges!" and the Court did no more business. Conscious of integrity, he never hesitated to take a great responsibility, and to take it alone.

He was a conscientious man, and sought the counsel of that "still, small voice," which declares the law of the universe, the eternal law, to whoever listens. He could not understand that a king's command should rule the conscience of the subject. He had a clear conception of justice. Veracious, outspoken, he had an utter hatred of lies, dissembling and hypocrisy in every form; and not only in the abstract, but he hated liars, hypocrites and dissemblers in the concrete, as he needs must; a lie in the abstract does not exist. He was terribly open, earnest and direct, and could not keep his mouth shut. He knew this. Once he went with some friends to see the great picture of Washington, at Faneuil Hall. Some one remarked upon the firm, well-set mouth. "It looks as if it could keep a secret." "So he could," said Mr. Adams; "but" (with his cane tapping his own bust), "that d—n fool never could" (loud laughter and applause).

He hated all stratagem and trick, and grumbled at the slow and stealthy way in which Franklin threw in his line, and drew out the glittering spoil. "Diplomacy is a silent art"; and John Adams was a talker. He "wore his heart upon his sleeve." He had not much decorum, no reserve. His early rule was never to deceive the people, nor conceal from them any truth essential to their welfare. He had great moral delicacy, and, becoming President, doubted if he might retain his son, John Quincy Adams, in the foreign post to which Washington had appointed him. He consulted Washington on the subject, who told him, "It is right for you to keep him there; it would be wrong for you to put him there."

Mr. Adams had strong temptations to excessive indulgence in animal passions; but he never yielded to the temptation, and in his old age he proudly writes, "No virgin or matron ever had cause to blush at sight of me, or to regret our acquaintance." Here he was greatly the superior of Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, nay, of Washington himself. These are great virtues. Few politicians, or other men, can count so much.

But he was ill-tempered, "sudden and quick in quarrel." He was not a good judge of character; he often suspected the noblest men, and put credulous faith in the mean and deceitful. Intensely ambitious of place and power as he was, he yet always sought to rule his desire by his duty. But if he sought only excellent things, the spirit of search was not always commendable; his motives selfish, his manner harsh. He was not a magnanimous or noble man. He was suspicious and jealous of the noblest of men before him in social rank and above him in power. He attributes mean motives to all men—often to the noblest in the land. He does this in his earliest letters and his latest. A round-headed man, he was constantly a fighter. This appears in his diary, and in his newspaper articles, before the revolution and after it; even in his own autobiography, writ in his extreme old age. He was violent in wrath, which, when roused, nothing, for the moment stayed. He was indiscriminate as to the cause of it. It might be the members of his Cabinet at the seat of government, or his butcher at Quincy, who brought in his bill.

Impatient of opposition, and greedy of results, he was most intensely desirous of honor and applause. At Paris, in 1782, he was handsomely complimented for his success in Holland, and he writes in his journal—"A few of these compliments would kill Franklin, if they came to his ears" (laughter). Franklin would have thought of them as a schoolmaster thinks of a compliment paid to one of his pupils. Yet, great as his vanity was, I think it never beat him aside from his duty. Loving the praise of men, he never once stooped for it; never once hesitated to do even the most unpopular act, if he was sure he was right; and he never bowed that head to escape the abuse that came from doing the right thing.

Yet he was intensely arrogant. Claiming so much for himself, he abused his rivals. Of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, he writes, on one occasion: "They will be sure of all the loaves and fishes of the National and State Governments, as they hope." A most atrocious calumny. He speaks sneeringly of John Hancock, as "a man without head or heart—a mere shadow of a man; and yet, Governor of old Massachusetts!" He did not like to hear the praises of Washington. One day, he dined with a company of gentlemen in a town adjoining this. After the dinner, a clergyman wished to help him on with his cloak. He objected, but the clergyman said, "I cannot do too much for you, when I think what you and Washington have done for the country." "Washington and me," growled out the old man, "don't let me hear you say that again! Washington was a dolt!" It was a momentary spasm of wrath, coming from "that rash humor which his mother gave him," or that came from somewhere else. At other times he did justice to Washington, but always a little coldly, for neither liked much the other.

Certainly, these are great vices; but he had such virtues that he can afford to have them told and substracted from his merits. He was so fearfully open that it is himself who furnishes all the evidence against himself. He defends Hancock, and says, "If he had vanity and caprice, so had I. * * * But these little flickerings of passion determine nothing concerning essential characters"; and he said it right. They were vices of the surface; the deep hearts of the men, they were pure and clean, clean down to the bottom.

Mr. Adams had strong religious emotions; but I must pass over what I had written on this theme. He was not what is called an eloquent man. He had no rhetorical tricks; no traps for applause; no poetic images; nothing of what half-educated ministers, sophomores and editors call "fine writing," what school-girls name "*perfectly* splendid!" (Laughter.) But he had strong sense, philosophical opinions, condensation and readiness of thought; the form is often defective, misshapen, the substance is always strong and good. Demosthenes said "the first thing, the next thing, and the third thing in eloquence is *energy*"; and John Adams had it to the full extent that Demosthenes wanted. Yet scarcely any of his speeches are left. Their fame survives only in tradition.

He had not much confidence in the people—no instinct of Democracy. He leaned to aristocratic forms of government. So, in the Constitution of Massachusetts, in 1779, he would give the governor an absolute negative in all acts of the Legislature, and leave him to appoint all the officers of the militia—the Generals, Colonels, Majors, Captains, clear down to the 4th Corporals. He insisted, however, on four things in his plan of government—separation of the Legislative, Judicial and Executive powers of the government; the Legislature must have two branches, a House and a Senate, the Judiciary must be appointed during good behavior, removable by impeachment or address, and the Executive must be one man, not a council of men. Depend upon it, it was a great man who made that generalization in 1776.

He was often accused of favoring a monarchy, and it was said he wished to establish a King and House of Lords in this country. The charge is utterly false. When nobody else beheld it, he foresaw the future greatness of America. In 1776 he said, "We are legislating for a population of a hundred millions, which will be here in no great time."

In 1780, Dr. Franklin wrote home to his government: "Mr. Adams means well for his country; is always an honest man; often a wise man; and sometimes, and in some things, is absolutely out of his senses." He adds: "I know that by asserting this, I hazard a mortal enemy." The criticism was just, as the fear of consequences was true. But, weigh the man in an even balance, his faults are chiefly those of will and temper, and a lack of decorum, his virtues are patriotism, truthfulness, moral courage, integrity. These, I think, have seldom been surpassed, rarely equalled in any public man. He had no prejudice against any section of the country. Here he was superior to Jefferson and Washington, who never did justice to New England.

He was an intense patriot, and never hesitated to sacrifice his own dearest wishes and fondest hopes for his country's good. In his later days, some distinguished foreigners came to visit him at Quincy. He met them by arrangement at a special hour, and sat in a great chair in front of the house, under the shade of a tree. "At the beginning of the fight," asked one of these men, "did you think you should succeed?" "Yes," said the old man; "I knew the country would go through, but I expected nothing but ruin and death for my family and myself." It was very true, and characteristic of the man.

The hatred against him has not yet died away from old Federal families and old Democratic. Detraction is still busy at its work. But after all just deductions are made from his conduct, it must be confessed that no man had so high, so deep an influence in the great constructive work of founding the best institutions in America, and the judgment of posterity on him will be—A brave man, deep-thoughted, conscientious, patriotic and possessed of an integrity which never shook, but stood as firm as the granite of the Quincy hills.

While American institutions continue, the people will honor brave, honest old John Adams, who never failed his country in her hour of need, and who, in his life of more than four score and ten years, though both passionate and ambitious, corrupted no woman and no man (loud and prolonged cheering).

THE FOUR INDIAN STATES.

From The New Orleans Picayune.

The progress of civilization in several of the Indian tribes occupying Territories west of the States will soon bring up a new question for the decision of Congress. What shall be done with the Indian Governments or States that are now fully organized? Are they to be finally admitted into the Union? Is a new removal at some future time to be made of the tribes civilized and Christianized to make room for the Caucassian wave rolling West? Or are foreign governments to grow up in the very heart of the territory of the United States?

The Cherokees organized a regular government as early as 1839, copying the peculiar features of the Constitution of the United States. The forms of legislation and the arrangement of the courts of justice so nearly resemble those of the States that, but for the tawny skins around him, the traveller into the Cherokees' territory would scarcely find any indication of having passed its boundaries.

This tribe has improved in all the arts of civilization to such a degree that many of its principal men would grace the refined society of any nation. In respect for the law, regard for popular education and public morality, and the adoption of all the elegancies and advantages of civilization, the Cherokees have taken a position which forbids any forcible interference with their rights to the territory they occupy, to suit the convenience or obviate the anomaly which the existence of their State now presents.

The Choctaws formed their government, taking the institutions of the United States for their model, in 1834. Imitating their more progressive white neighbors, last year they revised their Constitution, and adopted even the most minute forms of government and the names of officers which prevail in each of the States of our Confederacy.

The Chickasaws, lately separated from the Chocktaws, have also followed the example of the two tribes mentioned, and thus the third government, with institutions identical with our own, exists on the bordors of the South-Western States, occupying territory ceded to them by the General Government.

The Creeks are taking steps to create the fourth independent organization of a State form of government, and will soon present an example of the influence of civilization in subverting the customs and traditions of the race indigenous to the continent.

The Indian States are a strange anomaly. They are not a part of the Union, nor are they known in law to exist. The white man cannot pass through their territory without a permit, nor can he take with him, when he is allowed to enter the Indian domain, certain articles of merchandise, even though the packages are unbroken and are simply designed for the New Mexican market. This singular state of things cannot exist for many years, without forcing itself upon the attention of Congress.

The tide of population is steadily rolling West. In less than ten years it will beat against the barriers now thrown up against its invasion of the retreat of those civilized aborigines. Even now the emigration must cross these Territories. These Indian States cannot exist when the Caucassian race presses upon them as independent governments. The people, civilized and attached to the soil they have improved, cannot be removed to remoter wilds, nor, without serious discontents, is it likely the United States can subject them to the condition of other territorial organizations, by an abrogation of the constitutions they have established for themselves. What, then, is to be done with these Indian States? It cannot fail to give greater interest to this question that each of these Indian States has adopted the social institutions of the South. The Indians are slaveholders.

THE FRENCH SLAVE TRADE.

OPINIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSIONERS IN PARIS.

Paris (Dec. 16) Correspondence of The London Times.

In my letter of Thursday last occurs the following short paragraph; "I am informed that the Commissioners appointed by the Emperor to make a report on the subject of the engagement of free negroes in the French colonies have declared in favor of the system of immigration as at present conducted." One of your morning contemporaries observes on this: "The statement is altogether incorrect; there is not, indeed, the least foundation for it."

I have referred the paragraph, with the assertion that there was not the least foundation for it, to my original informant. He states as follows:

With respect to the denial as to the proceedings of the Commission, I affirm that the majority, if not the whole, of the French officers who have given evidence before the Commission declared in favor of maintaining the immigration, and the same was done by the former governors of the colonies. It is true that "irregularities" have occurred in the manner of carrying out the immigration, but it was at the same time admitted that it was easy to remedy these irregularities. There is a person opposed to the immigration who has not yet been heard in support of his views; and finally, as it is necessary to send instructions to the colonial governors and to the officers commanding stations whose instructions are at an end, the provisional maintenance of the immigration was resolved on, with recommendations to observe strict vigilance in carrying it out. I may add that the final decision rests with the Emperor, whatever be the views or recommendations of the Commission.

THE CONTRACT BETWEEN THE FRENCH PLANTERS AND THE AFRICAN NEGROES.

From The London Shipping Gazette, Dec. 17.

The following is the form of contract entered into between factors, on the part of the employers and free Africans, under the authority of the French government, as forwarded by a correspondent on the West Coast of Africa:

Article 1. The immigrant herein named engages for every description of labor connected with the culture and fabrication of sugar, &c., as well as for any agricultural or industrial enterprise in which his employer may see fit to engage him, and generally for every description whatever of domestic work.

Art. 2. The present working engagement is for six years, to commence from the day of entering the service of the employer. The employed is expected to give twenty-six complete working days every month—no more; the day's work to be regulated by the custom existing in the colony. The employed will be held to labor, without increase of wages, according to the wants of the establishment wherein they may be employed.

Art. 3. The employer shall have the right of surrendering or assigning, under the control of the administration, this contract, entered into for his own profit.

Art. 4. The employed to be lodged on the establishment where he is engaged. He shall have the right to obtain from his employer medical care and nourishment, agreeably to the regulations and usage adopted in the colony with reference to the working people of the country—it being understood that every illness contracted by his own act, whether in the works or in his occupation, shall be at his proper cost.

Art. 5. The wages of an immigrant are 12 francs for men, and 6 francs for women, and 8 francs for children of from 6 to 14 years, per month of 26 days' work (see Art. 2), to commence eight days after his arrival in the colony. One-half of the wages to be paid at the end of each month, and one-half at the end of each year.

Art. 6 relates simply to the form of receipt prescribed for immigrants for advance of wages.

Art. 7 binds the employer to submit to the regulations adopted in the colony with regard to the works and immigration police.

Art. 8. At the expiration of his terms of engagement, the means of returning to his country will be given to the immigrant for himself, his wife and his children, on condition that he contributes monthly the tenth part of his wages to the immigration chest. If he agrees to renounce his return money, the entire sum contributed by him will be refunded. In the event of reengagement, the conditions will be fixed by mutual arrangement between the immigrant and his employer.

These articles of agreement are drawn up before the Commissary of the French government, in conformity with the decree of March 27, 1852, and certified by that functionary, and signed in "good faith" by the captain of the immigrant vessel, the factor on the coast, and an employé at the factory.

THE NEW SLAVE TRADE.

Correspondence of The Baltimore Sun.

Washington, Dec. 31, 1858.

The subject of the importation of African slaves into Southern States is likely to occupy the attention of Congress upon the resumption of the session. Several members, as I learn, are to bring it forward in the form of resolutions of inquiry. The facts of the case, so far as officially known to the Executive, will thus be elicited. In one of Mr. C. L. Lamar's letters to Secretary Cobb, he stated that it was his intention to violate the law prohibiting the slave trade, relying upon the public sentiment of the South for his justification.

It has been stated in a Southern journal, upon authentic information, that the parties engaged in the recent importation of Africans, as slaves, would avow and justify the act. The examination of witnesses, pending in Savannah, may also elicit such facts as will render it necessary for the United States District Attorney to bring the subject before a Grand Jury. In the first place, it may be impossible to obtain an indictment from the Grand Jury, as was lately the case at Columbia, in the matter of the Echo. But should a bill be found, and a trial take place, the jury, perhaps, may not convict the defendants. As to any opinion from a United States Court that the law prohibiting the slave trade is unconstitutional, no one can suppose that it will ever be rendered.

The amount of the matter is, that those of the Southern States that may chose to be supplied with slaves from Africa will be so supplied, any law of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. The slavers only take the hazard of arrest on the high seas by United States cruisers, and of being carried into some Northern port, where, possibly, the parties arrested might meet the penalty of the law. The Federal Government cannot control juries in the South any more than they could in the North. It may well be believed that the United States Fugitive Slave act cannot be executed in some parts of the North, and not long ago a case occurred in which the extradition of a foreign fugitive from justice was forcibly and successfully resisted.

That the African slave trade will be opened, is just as certain as that they will find a ready sale in the South. We have seen that Northern enterprise has been extensively engaged in the slave trade between Africa and Cuba, and there is no reason to doubt that it will continue to brave all dangers, if a slave market be opened for it, at the South. There is scarcely a doubt that this subject, in its various bearings, will occupy much attention in Congress, and furnish new issues for the coming political struggles.

PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

Correspondence of L'Independence Belge.

St. Petersburg, Nov. 27, 1858.

I promised you the news of the labors of the

ties of small landholders; in short, to prevent poverty. But have the best means been found? Is not the right of property attacked when a portion of the lands of the nobles is taken out of their control? A grave question, and one which it was impolitic to raise after things had gone so far. These discussions may be looked upon by the peasantry with an evil eye, and it is imprudent for the nobles to risk a quarrel with the Emperor that would excite the troubles of which they would be the first victims. There is now prevalent throughout Russia a mental fermentation, accompanied by a curious and restless expectation. The men of influence must calm this, and they are the nobles.

So, although I approve Platonoff's idea, I must consider his protest ill-timed and dangerous. As soon as the Minister of the Interior knew of this protest, he sent it back to the Committee, as *non-conformable to the State law*. But the President of the Committee, Count Shoovaloff, although he had personally opposed the protest, immediately went to the Minister and informed him with a good deal of decision that Platonoff's paper, having been approved by all the members of the Committee, could not be separated from their plan, and must go with it wherever it went.

This whole thing shows that there is a great deal of freedom of thought in Russia, and that the silence which has been imposed upon the country for thirty years past has not been able to check the progress of ideas. The present government is very well aware of this, and allows all the latitude in this respect which anybody could desire.

ST. PETERSBURG, Nov. 29, 1858.

The Russians are beginning to discuss social and political questions. Like most novices, they all want to speak at once, and everybody wants to hear himself and nobody else. Still, public opinion is becoming intelligent and powerful; sometimes, too, it is generous and discriminating. The private virtues of a man are often recognized, while his public measures are condemned. I have heard high compliments for the private life of Gen. Muravieff, from those persons who were most severe against him for his attempts to prevent the peasantry on the appanages from availing themselves of the liberty to change their condition, granted them by the imperial ukase, on the pretext that the ukase did not grant the privilege to whole villages. With this the Emperor was much dissatisfied, and for several days here and in Moscow there have been rumors of his dismissal.

In Moscow, I am informed the discussion of the great question of emancipation has become very passionate. The most remarkable articles which have appeared on this subject in the Empire have been published by the *Courrier de Moscou*. The other day a newly-appointed professor assumed his chair in the University at Moscow to commence his course. A student rose on the instant and told him plainly, in the name of the class, that his ideas and principles were too much behind the age, and did not respond to their demands, and that he ought to resign his place in favor of some more liberal man. An attempt was made to punish the irreverent student. His class made common cause with him, and threatened to leave.

LORD NAPIER'S RECALL.

From The Providence Journal.

THE letter published in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* relative to the recall of Lord Napier has naturally attracted a good deal of attention, especially in consideration of the editorial endorsement with which it is introduced. The balance of testimony is in favor of the theory that the change was influenced, in some degree, by the position which Lord Napier had taken on the slavery question. The government of England would not, under ordinary circumstances, rebuke a minister for siding with the ruling party in the government to which he was accredited; but on the subject of slavery the people of England entertain sentiments beyond those of the strongest Republicans, and quite up to those of the most violent abolitionists. We hear a great deal about the failure of West India emancipation, and of the reaction of English opinion on the subject; but the fact is that there is nothing upon which English opinion is more unanimous than in its hostility to negro slavery. Whether this be consistent or inconsistent, reasonable or unreasonable, right or wrong, there is no doubt of its existence; and a British minister could not do anything more unacceptable to the British people than to give his countenance to slavery.

But whatever may be the case in regard to the recall of Lord Napier, there is another statement in this letter of very grave importance. The New York *Commercial Advertiser* says:

"We pass over the comments interwoven with its statement in respect to Kansas, Lecompton, sound doctrines of Jefferson, &c., and its inferences with reference to the distinguished diplomat's removal, to call the reader's attention to the distinct allegations with respect to certain unpatriotic and treasonable proceedings of American citizens.

"Some of these are too general to be tangible; but one at least is specific enough to be received without dispute if the writer of the letter is truthful, and is capable of being disproved if untrue. It is distinctly said that, in 1851, a strong *deputation* of Southern disunionists were in London, presented their projects to Lord Palmerston, who, being on very friendly terms with the American Minister, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, had the matter before him, and the disunion embassy, discouraged, returned home. If Mr. Lawrence received such information from Lord Palmerston, he doubtless communicated it to the State Department at Washington, with the names of the Southern deputation, &c. It might be well that the country should know who these men were. Will any member of Congress call for the documents?"

The suggestion is worthy of consideration. If the allegation be true, the country should know who the men are that have been proposing to a foreign power the dismemberment of the Union. If such a thing had been done by Northern men, it would have called forth, and deservedly, the reprobation of the whole country; but when it is done by the fire-eaters, it passes as a thing of course. We see that a conference of the Southern members of Congress is to be held to consult upon the policy of the government in regard to Mexico, and upon the "rights of the South" generally. Suppose there should be a corresponding meeting of Northern members to consult upon the "rights of the North," how soon would the cry of treason resound through the land. Yet the meeting that has been announced hardly calls forth a comment. It would be curious to see if the men who made this proposition to the British government are the same who are complaining of the disunion tendencies of the Republican party.

From The Evening Post.

We have already published the official announcement of Lord Napier's removal by his government from Washington to a less important post on the continent of Europe. An anonymous London letter in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, which, from the circumstance of its appearing in that cautious and respectable journal, received an unmerited degree of consideration from the press, states that the reason of the British Minister's degradation is the offence he had given to the home government by his conversation on the Kansas question, and his intimacy with Mason, and other Administration or pro-slavery Senators, while he has treated the Republicans with marked neglect. It is intimated in this letter that reports have been brought home from Washington that Lord Napier made himself "the gratuitous advocate of the Lecompton bill," and that great offence has been given to the Republican members of Congress by his pro-slavery affinities. Moreover, we are told that the Duke of Argyle's declaration in the House of Lords, that the British government have not changed their views on the subject of slavery, was, as is well-known, called forth by a statement to the contrary made by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, in the Senate, but that "probably much importance would not have been attached to the declarations of Mr. Mason had it not been for the known intimacy between him and Lord Napier."

These explanations are exceedingly improbable, and do no credit to the good sense or sagacity of the source from which they proceed, whether they be of Northern or Southern origin.

In the first place, there is nothing to sustain them but irresponsible and vague assertion. The very generality and want of specific character in the allegations deprive them of any claim on our belief. Lord Napier, although a very acceptable diplomatist to the people generally, has not commended himself either to his own or our government since his residence at Washington, and his diplomatic conduct here has furnished abundant pretexts for his removal, without referring to his unimportant opinions on questions of domestic politics. He is known to be personally at variance with the political opinions of the present British Cabinet; he is reported to have been singularly regardless of the small diplomatic formalities which are expected of foreign ministers even in our free-and-easy republic; and, to crown all, he has failed in effecting the three objects of his mission—the settlement, on British terms, of the Central American question; the Visit and Search question; and the question of the proposed British and American alliance in China. Here are reasons, at least for an unfriendly home government for Lord Napier's recall, quite enough to enable us to dispense with the necessity of referring to his private opinions on the Kansas disturbance—opinions about which nobody cares, and which, if intended to have a practical influence, would subject him to a universal derision, which he is too sensible a man not to anticipate and avoid.

It was Lord Napier's duty, in his social relations, to conciliate the party in power, whether that party were pro-slavery or anti-slavery, without, of course, treating the minority party with incivility. But it requires no extravagant estimate of his discretion or capacity to reject the supposition that he has, as the letter-writers assert, declared himself an advocate of pro-slavery doctrines, however unimportant such declarations on his part would be.

As was to be expected, he has merely exchanged hospitalities principally with those Congressmen who could reciprocate; but, with the exception of Senator Seward and a few others, the only Congressmen in Washington who live in a style to make them willing or able to reciprocate belong to the pro-slavery party. Most of the Republican Senators and Representatives, for some reason or other—perhaps for economy, perhaps on account of the short tenure of office practically allowed them by their constituents—live in boarding-houses or hotels. We do not hear that Senator Seward expresses any disaffection with the British Minister's social deportment; and if his associates are desirous of finding their legs under diplomatic mahogany, we dare say the way is open. Let them, if they are so ignobly dependent on the smiles of the titled minister, leave their narrow quarters and do like Senator Seward. Let them keep house, entertain and give dinners, and they will receive the reward of their tuft-hunting. To be sure, the outlay is expensive, but the return, such as it is, is certain.

We hope to hear no more of these silly complaints from Republican Congressmen. At all events, let not a snobbish chagrin at not being invited to Lord Napier's parties be elevated into a matter of international consideration, and let those Congressmen, if there be any such, who think so highly of the pleasures of his lordship's dinner-table as to lose the self-respect and dignity befitting their position, at least keep their dissatisfaction and mortified vanity within their own bosoms.

A RUNAWAY SLAVE FROM GEORGIA CAPTURED.

From The (Washington) States, Dec. 29.

ON Sunday afternoon, as the passengers by the mail-boat from Aquia Creek were about to land, Mr. Mattingly, the agent, observed a negro in company with a white man, under circumstances that seemed to him suspicious. He proceeded to question the former before he would allow him to go on shore. He asked him where he was going, to which he replied he was going to New York to bring the rest of the family South. This aroused Mr. Mattingly's suspicion, and he then interrogated the white man. This man, who gave his name as J. T. Rogers, said that the negro was his servant, and that he was going to New York, for which place he had got through tickets at Wilmington, N. C. Mr. Mattingly, not being entirely satisfied with this statement, told Rogers that he should give the usual bond. This Rogers professed his willingness to do; and he went on shore, as he said, to see some friends of his and get the required security. As he did not return, the negro was handed over to Officer Loyd, with the view of hunting up Rogers. He was taken to the depôt, where he was met and questioned by Capt. Goddard. The negro told him the same story as Rogers told Mr. Mattingly; but the captain was not so easily imposed on; and he pronounced the statement a lie, and told Officer Loyd to hold on to the negro, as he believed he was a runaway.

The negro either could not or would not see Rogers, and he was carried to the Central Guard-house, and committed to jail as a runaway. The next day Lieut. Thomas and Officer Loyd, by direction of Capt. Goddard, went to Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, for the purpose of discovering, if possible, whether certain statements made by the negro, with regard to parties whose names he mentioned as living in the place from which he said he and "his master" had come, were true. Mr. Stephens referred the lieutenant and officers to the Hon. Mr. Tripp, who accompanied the officer to the jail and interrogated the negro. After considerable cross-examination, the negro owned up that "Rogers" was a fictitious name; that the real name of the white man was Patrick Downes; that this Downes was conveying him on to a free State, and had induced him to place in his hands $350, money which he had earned as a ditcher, working in company with the said Downes.

He also stated that when he was about 50 miles from his starting-place, near Macon, Ga., he wanted to return, being stricken with regret at leaving his wife and children; but that Downes placed a pistol at his head, and threatened to blow his brains out if he said anything.

Downes left his trunk on board the boat, and, on being opened, it was found to contain a few articles of common clothing, and some pipes and tobacco. Active search is being made for the fellow, but up to this moment without success. There was nothing in the trunk by which he could be detected.

The negro says he belongs to Dr. John R. Cook, of Marshallville, near Macon, Georgia.

The negro's name is Hudson, and he was at work in Oglethorpe, in Macon County, when he was induced by Downes to run away.

THEODORE PARKER'S LECTURE ON WASHINGTON.

WHEN, nearly two years ago, on the birth-day of Washington, we heard Mr. Parker preach a sermon on the life and character of that distinguished man, it was especially gratifying to find it, as we had expected, an impartial delineation of character, not a mere eulogy; a justly discriminating criticism, not the sort of thing that is now known as a "Mount Vernon" paper. We were rejoiced, though by no means surprised, to see the man who had so effectively attacked idolatry in other departments raising his voice against the popular error which has idolized Washington, and clearly exposing both the blunder and the crime which that great man committed in continuing to hold slaves after he had publicly joined in the solemn declaration that liberty is one of the "inalienable" rights of humanity.

In our notes of that sermon, taken at the time, we find the following passages:

"The acceptance of the U. S. Constitution, which *seemed* suited to advance the cause of liberty, really gave that cause a deadly wound, by incorporating with it the support of slavery. Of all those who, by signing that instrument, aided in this recognition of slavery as a thing proper to be continued under law, I blame Franklin and Washington most. Both were opposed to slavery—both emancipated—both gave its signature to that Constitution."

"Washington was born a slaveholder, and married slaves. Although he joined in a resolution against the slave trade, and offered to Lafayette to join him in emancipating his slaves, he continued a slaveholder through his life. He even tried to recover fugitive slaves from Florida, and direct the seizure of one of his own in New Hampshire, 'if it could be done without confusion or popular tumult.' Not until his death were his slaves emancipated. This slaveholding was the greatest blot on Washington's character: there is no excuse for it."

"The true way to honor him is by avoiding his faults and correcting his errors."

On hearing the lecture (entitled "Washington, the Man of Integrity"), recently delivered by Mr. Parker in the course of "Fraternity Lectures," it was a great disappointment and grief to us not to hear the above ideas and expressions reproduced, but in their stead the following, which seem, to our recollection, correctly reported in *The Atlas* of the 29th ult.

Speaking of the "religious character" of Washington, and of those things which evince such a character more surely than regular attendance on sermons and sacraments, Mr. Parker said:

"Above all, I find it in his relation to the nation's greatest crime. He was born a slaveholder, he was brought up with slavery all about him, slaves fell to him by marriage, the entailed property of his wife. Washington wished to get rid of it, *but could not*. The African slave trade was thought as honorable as dealing in land, cotton, wheat or oil. Washington always disliked slavery; thought it wrong, wicked."

"He sought to promote the emancipation of all the slaves in Virginia. This could not be done. At last, by his will, he set free all his own bondmen, their deliverance to take place at the death of his wife—*it could not before*; and he charges his executors to see that this clause respecting the slaves be religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect or delay. Here he was superior to his age; here I find proof of his religious character. If Christianity be more than one of the humbugs imposed upon a groaning world, it is because it teaches a religion which consists in piety, the natural love of God, and morality, the natural keeping of his laws; and if piety and morality be religion, then who shall dare to charge Washington with lack of Christianity?

"In him there is no unsound spot, save his wrath, and that is hardly unsound—rather a protuberance than a weak spot. There is nothing little or mean in his character. The whole is clean and presentable."

If these statements are different from a "Mount Vernon sketch" (in that the latter does not object to slavery *at all*), they certainly differ quite as much from an anti-slavery statement!

Those who do object to slavery, and yet wish to keep the character of Washington entirely free from reproach, have often said that the slaves which were called his were in reality his wife's, and that therefore he is not censured for the continuance of their bondage through his whole life. But *Mr. Parker* can hardly say this, after having bestowed emphatic praise upon Samuel Adams for promptly denying and setting at nought a similar claim of "right of property" made by *his* wife. When Samuel Adams came home one evening (said Mr. Parker on another occasion), he found a negro woman sitting by the kitchen fire. When, on asking, "Who is this?" his wife told him, "It is a slave that neighbor So-and-so has given me,' the stern democrat said—'When she passed over my threshold, she became free!' And Mr. Parker praised *this* as the evidence of "integrity"—of a "religious character"—of a character "clean and presentable." Why should we demand less of Washington? Why should we allow Washington not only to keep his wife's slaves in bondage, but to hunt her escaped fugitive? How can Mr. Parker say—"In him there is no unsound spot, save his wrath"! An offence not to be named in comparison with his slaveholding!

But we are told in this very lecture that Washington was "born a slaveholder." If he held slaves by a claim independent of his wife's (so-called) property, what is his excuse for not emancipating *them*? If he "*always* disliked slavery—thought it *wrong*, WICKED"—why did he not emancipate as soon as he came of age? Why not when, as Chairman of the Committee that drafted the "Fairfax Resolves," he expressed the wish to have an entire stop put forever to this "wicked, cruel and unnatural work"? Why not when he wrote to Lafayette, in reference to *his* emancipation of slaves, "I should be happy to join you in so noble a work"? Why not when he became the President of a nation that called itself free, and when his example, calling the attention of the whole world at once to the evil and the appropriate remedy, would have had such efficient and salutary power? Alas! Was there indeed no spot in him except his wrath?

"The people are his monument," says Mr. Parker. The connection in which he says this, in contrast with the passages above quoted from the sermon and omitted from the lecture, is well fitted to fill us with surprise as well as grief. He says:

"I think the better of mankind because he lived, enriching the earth with a life so full of humanity. Shall we make an idol of him? Worship him with huzzas on Fourth of Julys, and stupid rhetoric the rest of the year? Shall we build him a great monument, and bottom it in a slave pen? They may do it who like. His glory is already writ on the continent! More than two hundred places bear his name. He is entrenched in the great earth works of America. The people are his monument."

Is it not a *slaveholding* people who are his monument? A people bent on extending slavery as well as continuing it? A people who choose, one Presidential term after another, that executive officer who shows himself most ready of the candidates to do the will of the Slave Power? If, in addition to this living monument of brass, an obelisk of stone is to be erected to him, where could it be better bottomed than "in a slave-pen"?—C. K. W.—*Liberator*.

NEGRO SAILORS IN FLORIDA.—The law requiring the incarceration of free negro sailors in all the ports of Florida during the stay of the vessels to which they belong has been repealed by the Legislature now in session.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1859.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, 138 Nassau street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, 138 Nassau street, New York.*"

TO DONORS.

THOSE who have made pledges to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and those who intend, whether pledged or not, to do something in aid of its operations the current year, are reminded that this season is the time when such aid is most needed. Such Donations will be gladly received and promptly acknowledged either by Francis Jackson, Boston, or S. H. Gay, New York.

New York State Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Third Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York will be held at ALBANY, on MONDAY, TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, January 31, February 1 and 2, 1859.

This Convention, held under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of annual recurrence, is important, not only for its local effect, but, through representatives in attendance, and members of the Legislature, is designed to reach all parts of the State. At no previous period since the commencement of the Anti-Slavery struggle has there been a more pressing need of united, earnest and untiring effort for the immediate and entire abolition of chattel slavery. While the great question, in some of its aspects, is now more widely and earnestly discussed than heretofore, it is also true that the aggregate number of slaves was never before so large, and never so rapidly increasing; that besides the revolting features of domestic slave-breeding, and the inter-State slave trade, the African slave trade is now virtually reopened; that heroic fugitives may still be hunted, with impunity, and their friends persecuted, fined and imprisoned upon the soil of New York; that the schemes of slave propagandism, by those "in authority," were never more threatening, bold and defiant.

Let the friends of impartial liberty, throughout the State, spare no efforts to render this Convention, in character and influence, such as the exigencies of the cause demand. Give, if possible, your personal presence, your friendly counsel and coöperation. Let every County in the State be represented by one or more delegates.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, PARKER PILLSBURY, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, AARON M. POWELL, and other speakers, will be in attendance.

The Convention will be held in ASSOCIATION HALL, the opening session on Monday evening, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

THE WINTER'S WORK.

IT is always seed time, summer time and harvest in the anti-slavery field. And what is odd about its phenomena, it often blossoms and brings forth its fruit in the dead of winter, particularly, as that is the season when the delegated wisdom of the several States is usually gathered together to conspire for the common weal. The Abolitionists have been diligent husbandmen in this portion of the Lord's Vineyard, and by the sweat of their brows and the labor of their hands they have produced some crops that were for the convalescence, if not for the healing, of the nation—which, at least, showed that the native virtue and vigor of the soil was not entirely worn out, and that there was a reasonable ground of hope that it might yet be redeemed by wise industry from the tangle and miasma of the evil weeds that had overrun it. The Legislatures of the free States have answered an excellent purpose as a measure of our successful toils. Legislative action serves well as a monument, renewed from time to time, to mark how high the level of public opinion has risen, as the Nilometer used to measure the swelling of the river of Egypt, the one like the other pregnant with fertility and with promise.

The changes from year to year marked on the State obelisk may not look to be great; but when the rise of twenty years is noted, one can understand that there is force enough in that tide when its flood comes to sweep away the grosser evils that encumber the land. Take the State of Massachusetts, for example. Twenty years ago the Whigs and Democrats were at one to prevent any censure of slavery which might grieve the souls of their Southern compeers. The odious distinctions made because of natural complexion in railway carriages and in the public schools were in full recognized and justified existence. The judicial officers of the State were competent to entertain the question of a slave-claim, and to commit the party to the County jails. The State still interposed to put asunder men and women of differing hues, however God might have joined them together. These and other incidents of injustice towards the weak and of subserviency to the strong had become so hardened into customs and institutions that they were looked upon as part and parcel of the common law, if not as elements of the common air. Yet they have, all of them, been so long reformed, as far as legislation can do it—though after protracted struggles in every instance—that it is hard to realize that they were once so obdurate and inveterate in their tenacity. And the last year, after three demands defeated by Executive servility, a Judge who had disgraced his office by consenting to be the tool of a slave-catcher was ignominiously turned out of the service of the State, as a discreditable and unprofitable servant.

We have cited the example of the Bay State because it came first to hand; but the illustration of the changes in public action produced by changes in public opinion as to slavery, and the mischiefs growing directly or indirectly out of it, could be enforced from the legislative history of all the New England States and of several of the other free States. The State of Vermont has done even more virtuously than her elder sister and has marshalled her the way she should go, and which we most truly hope she may take. Now, all these things are much more encouraging as signs than as facts—as symptoms of the changes which have been going on in the kingdom within us than as records of those which have taken place in the republic without us. All revolutions are first worked out in that invisible world of thought before they are reproduced upon the visible diurnal sphere. And all of these, forerunners merely of greater events at hand, have been compelled by the faithful and persistent application of truth, as it gradually unfolded itself in the perceptions of the few, to the reluctant minds of the many. History, which is Philosophy teaching by such examples as these, thus teaches us just what to do in order to accomplish what we demand, and gives us an absolute assurance of success. Whenever the mass of the Northern mind has become leavened with as deep a sense of the wickedness and mischiefs of slavery, and of the disgrace and guilt of giving it any support, as our fathers had of the injustice and danger of Taxation without Representation, the idea will speedily clothe itself with whatever political shape may be necessary to rid the free States of all participation in it, and to put them in a position to attack it directly.

The question which is next to be applied to the legislative bodies of those States is one which it is hoped will extract from some of them at once, and from all of them in time, a declaratory law to the effect that no person shall be taken from the soil for which they legislate as a slave, under any pretext or by any authority. The State of Vermont has begun the work in a thorough and masterly manner, and ordained not only that any person proposing to remove one claimed as a slave from the State, but any person claiming to own any other as a slave, within the Green Mountain jurisdiction, shall be punished with imprisonment at hard labor, in the penitentiary, for an adequate term of years. This same legislation is asked of several other of the free States this year, our own included, and the progress of this reformation will be watched with earnest curiosity, both as a symptom and as a result. The readiness with which Vermont has yielded to this demand, at the very first asking, is an encouragement to a continuance in the well-doing of persistent importunity elsewhere. It is also encouraging to those engaged in the often seemingly barren labors of the Anti-Slavery lecturing field, to see so speedy a return to the culture which the American Anti-Slavery Society has lately bestowed on Vermont, to which we think this success may be fairly and immediately attributed. We have been assured, on authority that should be good as to the composition of the General Court of Massachusetts, that there is good reason to believe that a loud and earnest call on the part of the people would not be refused a candid hearing and a probable adoption of the measure asked for. We trust that this opinion and expectation will stir up the minds of all disposed anti-slaverywise to fresh efforts to make a strong demonstration in this direction in Massachusetts, so that the streets of Boston may never be dirtied by another military kidnapping, like that of Burns in 1854. We fear that so sudden a movement can hardly be expected of this State, or of Pennsylvania, or even Ohio; but the greater the urgency and the numbers of the petitioners that beset the Legislatures of these and other States with this demand, the sooner it will be obtained, and the more wholesome the agitation which it must create.

The Constitutional case of conscience which will of course be raised and magnified, we cannot undertake to dispose of. The puritanism of the American Anti-Slavery Society on this point is sufficiently well known. We cannot swear to support the United States Constitution, construing it as we do, because we do not mean to do any such thing, but just the contrary, as far as slavery is concerned; but we see no objection to asking men who hold different opinions from ours to apply their own construction of the United States Constitution to the legislation of the State. There are men who believe with Gerrit Smith that the Constitution was made to abolish slavery, and that this can be done by direct legislation of Congress, whenever a majority of that way of thinking can be procured. These men, of course, have their way plain before them. Then there is the much larger class of men who hold that every man has a right to construe the Constitution just as he understands it and to make laws according to his own views of what it ought to mean. These persons, generally, discern some way in which they can take office under the oath to support the Constitution, without incurring the guilt of supporting slavery at the same time. We are certainly entitled to the benefit of their ingenuity to make the soil of the free States too holy to endure the footstep of a slave-hunter. As for those who hold, with the existing majority of the nation, that the Constitution does guarantee the doing of certain things for the protection of slavery, and yet consent to swear to support it, it is for them to consider whether the greater sin be to keep or to break such an oath. We are not constituted the keepers of the consciences of legislators, but we are all of us appointed, by a commission direct from Heaven, the keepers of our brother who is drawn into death, and, as such, we may and will ask all having authority to use it for his deliverance and protection.

We think that the element of a natural and just resentment of slaveholding insolences will enter more and more largely into the disposition of this question, and the solution of the greater ones knocking at the door, than it has yet done. It has long looked as if Lord Byron's paraphrase of Burke's rhapsody, "the Age of Chivalry is gone!" was a true exegesis, and that indeed "there's no spirit now-a-days!" But there is an amount of kicking that will rouse the most abject to resentment, and one would think the Northern people must have nearly had the necessary quantity administered by this time. When they see the slaveholders doing what they please with the Constitution at their end of the Union, and Presidents and Cabinets and Judges all joining in one chorus of consent and adulation, it is not strange that they should seriously incline to see what can be done with it in their own latitude. The Union between the South and North has all along been construed to be like the engagement of Miss Flora McFlimsy with the hero of "Nothing to Wear";

"this engagement, d'ye see,
Is one binding on *you*, but not binding on *me!*"

When Northern men are liable to imprisonment under slaveholding laws for expressing anti-slavery opinions, or owning anti-slavery books, surely it is but a modest reprisal to subject a slaveholder insulting a Northern State by bringing a slave into it, or pursuing one on its soil, to the same penalty. As soon as the Northern mind is as thoroughly anti-slavery as the dominant opinion at the South is pro-slavery, there will be no difficulty about this reduction of the laws to practice. Perhaps it is much nearer this healthy tone than we commonly suppose, and it is the business of Abolitionists throughout the free States to apply the test thoroughly to the people and to the people's representatives and see how they will stand it. It will not be work thrown away, at any rate; and this stirring of the soil will fit it for future harvests, even if we have to wait awhile longer for this particular crop. So let all go to work with the petitions and perplex the Powers that Be, if we cannot persuade them.

DOUGLAS AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

SENATOR DOUGLAS, whose seat since the commencement of the present session of Congress had been vacant, arrived at Washington on Thursday, the 6th inst. For political effect, no doubt, the time of his arrival was arranged for a date immediately subsequent to the announcement of his reëlection to the Senate. He wished to enter the Capital and resume his Senatorial seat as a conquerer fresh from the political battle-field, the pride of his friends and the terror of his enemies. The papers in his interest declare that he was greeted, on his arrival, by a crowd so multitudinous and enthusiastic as to afford unquestionable proof of his boundless popularity; but the Republican journals, on the contrary, assure us that he was welcomed only by "a rabble of 100 or 200 Irishmen," whom he addressed with the greatest reluctance. When he entered the Senate chamber on Monday, he met but a cold reception from his colleagues, though there was a slight cheer in the galleries.

What is to be his future career no one can predict with any certainty. He and his friends hope to be able, no doubt, to compel the Democratic party to accept him as their leader, if not in 1860, then in 1864; but Mr. Buchanan hates him so intensely that he will exert his whole power, personal and official, to put him down. That there is to be a fierce and unrelenting war between the Administration and the Illinois rebel is apparent from the defiant and denunciatory tone of his organ, the Chicago *Times*, as exhibited in the following article, which, as an example of political free speaking, is too important not to be put on record.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

An unwillingness to say or do anything that might in any possible manner be considered as tending *to embarrass a political contest in which our friends had a deep personal interest has for many months restrained us in that free and candid expression of our judgment of the acts of the Administration of Mr. Buchanan that we would like to have given to our readers. The action of the Legislature of Illinois yesterday has removed the last possible excuse for this silence on our part, and therefore it is that we ask the attention of our readers for a few moments this morning.*

In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed. The author of that bill became the object of all the slanders and villifications of the Abolitionists and Free-Soilers in all parts of the country. The act embraced an application of the greatest principle of American constitutional liberty. At the time of the passage of that act, and during nearly two years of the intense excitement which ensued, James Buchanan was absent from the United States; he was performing as an official penny post between Mr. Marcy and the British government, and devoted his leisure hours to speech-making at Exeter Hall. At home there were men who, knowing his age, and supposing that in their hands he could be made a tool to promote their selfish ends, commenced an intrigue to have him foisted upon the Democratic party. The old man, however, was upon one point a little weak. He never approved the Kansas-Nebraska act, and had no desire to become identified with it. The letter to Slidell upon that point never was published in full. He shortly after returned to the United States. He was nominated at Cincinnati through the kindness of Mr. Douglas, who urged his friends to give Mr. Buchanan the two-third vote which he had failed to obtain. But that Convention made a platform, the life of which was the Kansas-Nebraska act, and a pledge for its fair and faithful application. Upon the solemn assurance that he would maintain in the letter and the spirit that greatest act of American legislation, James Buchanan was elected. Had it been supposed for an instant that he would seek to destroy it, to make it a mockery and a cheat, he would have been consigned to an oblivion, at Wheatland, which would have known no disturbance save that which would have attended the interment of his person. Hardly had he taken the oath of office before he was surrounded by a gang of political hucksters—men who, having neither ability nor position themselves, devote their lives to attempts to destroy others who do possess those qualities. Such men as Cobb, Black, Bigler, Fitch, Bright, Glancy Jones, Grund and Slidell, took possession of the old man. They flattered him in his old age, as they would a boy on his first appearance in a long-tailed coat; and their success has been more enduring with him than it would have been with the boy, for the latter, in a few months, would have seen through the attempt upon him, while the old man, in his declining years, actually feeds upon the fulsome adulation of the creatures who boast of their using him for their own purposes.

One of his first acts was to appoint Walker Governor of Kansas, and instruct him to act fairly, and then, before one year, removed the same officer for obeying those instructions. He used Senator Douglas to induce Walker to go to Kansas under instructions—the same under which Walker assured the people that they should have the privilege of voting for or against their own Constitution; and in less than one year he ruled Douglas and Walker out of the Democratic party because they faithfully adhered to their first position.

Since the opening of 1858 the Administration has been, it would seem, endeavoring to sound the lowest depths of political meanness. It has sought to terrify men by proscription, to buy men by bestowing offices upon them, and to corrupt men by holding out inducements to corruption. It has dismissed honesty from the custody of the public funds, and invested convicted knavery with the treasurer's key. It has stooped to acts from which Bomba would turn with disgust, and which would be considered revolting in a despotism. It has sought directly, by the application of federal money, to coerce the people into the choice of particular individuals as representatives, and then lamented with crocodilean anguish over the dangers which peril our liberties by the employment of money to control elections.

Owing his present position, and all the positions he ever held, to the Democratic party, this James Buchanan, assuming the tone of a Louis Napoleon, has sought to dictate to the people of Illinois the men for whom they should vote. He has, through the gang of miserable office-holders who hang at his coat skirts and despise the facile stupidity which allows them to rule him, sought the election of an unanimous Republican delegation to Congress from this State. The people refused to obey the despot, and he has, through his official organs, pronounced them outlaws. *He has told them that if they re-elected Douglas, they should not be represented at Charleston, and, Douglas having been reëlected, it remains to be seen whether the royal edict will be carried out. The man who proclaimed it, the men who instigated it, and those who confirm it by their action, may never hope to hear the approving voice of the American people. They may triumph at Charleston, in the Convention, but God help them before the people.*

Two years have nearly elapsed since Mr. Buchanan commenced his Administration, and they have been two years of deep mortification and disaster to the Democratic party. He has devoted one entire year of it to the destruction of the Democracy of Illinois; and that Democracy to-day are stronger than they could possibly have been had he been their leader. He has been defeated by the Republicans wherever he has endeavored to elect his own friends, and has been defeated by the Democracy wherever he has sought to elect Republicans. It is cause for rejoicing to know that not a man who, in Congress, refused to abandon the Democratic platform at Mr. Buchanan's command has been defeated by the people, and, while we regret the elevation of a Republican majority in Congress, we cannot mourn over the defeat of those who abandoned principle in order to gratify the malign counsels of a vindictive cabal of Presidential aspirants.

We know that Mr. Buchanan is advanced in years; we know that he has held office during a long period; we know that his head has been silvered over by the hand of time, but what was said of another is not the less true of him, that the man "who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt."

If we may believe the Chicago *Democrat* (Rep.), the foregoing article was written by Senator Douglas himself. That it embodies his sentiments there is no room for doubt. As to the plans and purposes of the Senator, we have this statement from the Washington correspondent of the *Evening Post*:

"I presume there exists a general inquiry among the curious to know what Mr. Douglas is going to do. His most intimate friends have been unable to answer this question until very recently. A personal friend of the Senator answers me that 'he is going to stand up.' 'Stand up and do what?' I inquired. 'Stand up and fight the Administration.' 'Will he seek to obtain the Charleston nomination?' I inquired again. 'No, if he does, he parts with his best friends in the North.' 'But will he not do it, nevertheless?' 'I can assure you that he will not, *unless he changes his policy.*' Is there any truth in the report that he means to urge Wise as the Charleston nominee?' 'Not a word of truth in it.' 'Will he run as an independent candidate for the Presidency in 1860?' '*He will, if he runs at all.*' The gentleman with whom I had this conversation holds a high and honorable position in the government, and knows whereof he affirms. One thing is observable in Senator Douglas's speeches made after his arrival in New York: they are very different in tone from those delivered in Chicago and at New Orleans. This was accounted for by considering that he met at New York, on his arrival there, some of his Congressional anti-Lecompton compeers, who had something to say about the policy of the future as well as Mr. Douglas."

CONGRESS.

IN the Senate, on Thursday, Jan. 6th, Mr. Iverson of Ga. read an elaborate speech on the Pacific Railroad bill, advocating the building of two roads, one over the Northern and the other over the Southern route, so that each section, in case the Union should be dissolved (as it certainly would be if Seward or any other Black Republican should be elected President in 1860), might have access to the Pacific coast. The telegraphic report says:

"He traced the slavery agitation from its rise among a handful of New England fanatics of both sexes to its present monstrous proportions, and referred to the demon of Abolitionism in its onward march to power. He also referred to the Rochester speech of Mr. Seward, and said he knows but little of the human heart who imagines that anti slavery agitation will stop short of the total abolition of slavery by the action of the Federal Congress. To live and reign it must go on till it attains the Presidency, both houses of Congress, the Judiciary, and the abolition of slavery, or the Union be dissolved. Witness the result of the late elections. He did not consider the return of Mr. Douglas to the Senate a victory to the Democracy—it was only a victory of Free-Soil Democracy over Abolition Whiggery. He would not turn on his heel to choose between the Wilmot Proviso and the Squatter Sovereignty of the Senator from Illinois. Mr. Iverson professed himself in unmistakable terms a disunion man under the aggressions of the North. Let the Senator from New York (Seward) be elected President, and in his (Iverson's) opinion more than one Southern State would take immediate steps to secede. In certain contingencies, which he stated, Georgia would secede. He did not believe the South would go out by a general convention; but let a single State swing out, and she would draw with her, or after her, the remaining States to form either a Southern Confederacy or procure an amendment of the present Constitution to secure the rights of the South. As he believed the dissolution of the Union was near at hand, he was unwilling to vote money and lands for a road which was sure to be located outside of the South—hence he wanted the South to have a route equally with the North, which shall aid her while in the Union, and belong to her when out of it."

The correspondent of the *Evening Post* gives us a bit of gossip concerning this speech.

"When Iverson was making his disunion speech the other day, his colleague, Toombs, remarked in his seat, to some gentlemen who were near him, thus: 'Iverson hasn't read up the markets. The price of niggers has gone up. I am going to remain in the Union, and I rather think Georgia will too. More than all that, I am rather in favor of a Northern President, for, as a general thing, we in the South always make more out of a Northern than a Southern man!'

"This latter compliment was undoubtedly intended for Mr. Fugitive-Slave-law Fillmore, Mr. Missouri-Compromise repeal Pierce, and Mr. Lecompton-Swindle Buchanan. The three can divide the compliment equally between them.

"Senator Hammond remarked to Governor Seward, the day following the delivery of the speech, that he thought Iverson was unusually severe on him. 'By no means,' was the prompt reply of Gov. Seward, 'by no means, sir; on the contrary, I thought he was highly complimentary to me and severe upon you, for he was kind enough to say that, with "Northern security," I could "borrow any amount of money in Wall street at from four to six per cent.;" while you, with the popularity of your "Barnwell speech," with all your "plantations" and "niggers," couldn't get a dollar!' This not only turned the tables, but the laugh upon the Senator from South Carolina."

Mr. Trumbull of Ill. replied to Mr. Iverson on the following day, speaking in defence of the Republican party.

On the 10th the French Spoliation bill was passed, 26 to 20. Mr. Iverson, on the same day, introduced a bill abolishing the franking privilege. Mr. Slidell introduced a bill to

souls, awakening sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, will be heard no more on earth. His wife, mother, brothers, sisters, and numerous other relatives, will all deeply feel his loss, but the sad event must fall with peculiar force upon the surviving members of that never-to-be-forgotten quartette, John, Asa and Abby. They will all have the warm sympathy of thousands, in all parts of the country, who can never remember but with strong emotion the hours spent in listening to the minstrels from "the old Granite State."

Judson was a composer as well as a singer, and many of the songs so often sung by the "Family" were his. His physical organization was exceedingly sensitive, his mental temperament delicate and excitable, insomuch that in the later years of his life he was sometimes insane; and it is not unlikely that his death was the result of a morbid action of the brain. This, however, is only conjecture, since we are entirely ignorant of the circumstances attending his decease.

AN ANTI-SLAVERY PLEA FOR THE SLAVE TRADE.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

BEFORE leaving Boston for the Empire of Hayti, I desire to put on record a few arguments for reopening the foreign slave trade. I am in favor of it:

First: Because it is neither more immoral in theory nor inhuman in practice than the Southern inter-State slave trade. It is capable of demonstration that there are as many families separated, and as many lives lost (by the cruelties of Louisiana slave-drivers and the process of acclimation), in consequence of the American domestic traffic in human beings as would be the certain victims of an open and constitutional "foreign" slave trade. But our patriotic conservatives will not listen to this argument. They are willing, however, to believe in the wrong of an oceanic slave trade. If it were opened again, they would be forced to compare the systems, and, willingly or unwillingly, the accursed traffic between the Northern and far Southern slave States would be seen by them in all its atrocity. It would tear away the gaudy robe of constitutional sanction with which the gigantic villany is now concealed and idealized.

Secondly: Because it will create a feud between the present slaveholding class and the non-slaveholders who aspire to their station. It would break up the Unity of the South.

Thirdly: It would create the greatest commercial panic ever known in the Southern States. It would revolutionize the South. It would have the same effect there as the overthrow of monarchy, the repudiation of the national debt, and the confiscation of the estates of the crown, church and aristocracy would be likely to produce in England. It would ruin tens of thousands; produce extended and exciting debates; and thus arouse the far Southern slave population from their lethargic state of hopeless and passive discontentment.

Fourthly: It would ultimate in a grand servile war. The new "emigrants" would be restive—easily incited to rebellion; they would chiefly be trained warriors; they would be the flint—Abolitionists the steel—to the present *tinderish* slave population.

—By a servile war slavery is to be abolished. The Southern slaveholders—the best of them—only "deplore" the existence of slavery. Only in Missouri, do they seek to abolish it. Therefore, the other alternative must come. They must be abolished by their slaves. I believe in Bunker Hill and therefore am in favor of an Insurrection: and, to produce it, as speedily as possible, would never utter one word to thwart the designs of the advocates of the slave trade. Yours truly, JAMES REDPATH.

Malden, Mass., Jan. 7, 1859.

It is needless to say that we do not assent to the argument of our correspondent.—*Ed. Standard.*

PERSONAL.

Grace Greenwood (Mrs. Sarah Lippincott) is lecturing upon "The Life and Character of Joan of Arc." This is a new field of effort for her.

Mr. Charles Dickens, we (*The Century*) have it on good authority, has under consideration a visit to the United States, with a view of delivering his course of readings, which have been so deservedly popular in England.

The Newark *Mercury* says that the venerable ex-Chief-Justice Horablower, of New Jersey, now lies in a critical situation, from an attack of hemorrhage of the lungs, which, at his advanced age (eighty-two years), threatens a fatal termination.

The *Literary Gazette* tells a story of Dumas: Taking up by chance the last number of his periodical, the *Monte Christo*, I saw three lines in one of his letters from Russia, where he now is, and, astounded, went no further: "I was asked to allow myself to be presented to the Emperor Alexander on his return from Archangel. *I refused.*"

The Centennial Anniversary of the birth-day of Robert Burns, January 24, is to be adequately celebrated in this city. An oration is to be delivered at the Cooper Institute, by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and a Festival Dinner is to be given at the Astor House, over which Mr. William Cullen Bryant will preside as Honorary Chairman.

Mr. I. D. Shadd, a colored man, formerly of West Chester, Pa., has been chosen Councilman in the township of Raleigh (near Chatham), Canada West, beating a white opponent by a handsome majority. Mr. Shadd is one of the men who lately aided in rescuing a colored boy from the hands of a kidnapper named Merwin, while passing through Chatham on the great Western Railway.

Hon. Lewis D. Campbell, late member of Congress from the Dayton (O.) District, while on his way home from his office on the night of the 4th inst., was knocked down by a slung-shot blow on the back of the head. The skull was fractured by the blow, and he remained in the street for two hours in a state of unconsciousness, when he so far recovered as to be able to find the way to his residence. He is in a very critical state. A printer from Dayton has been arrested upon suspicion of being concerned in the assault.

The New York correspondent of the Concord (N. H.) *Independent Democrat* informs us that that unprincipled "jack-at-all-trades," the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, who not long since figured as counsel for Mrs. Cunningham (of Burdell-murder notoriety), preaches on Sunday, morning and evening, to a Reformed Dutch congregation in the Sixth Avenue, at a fair salary, and in the afternoon at the N. W. Presbyterian church in Fiftieth street, at $15 a sermon; besides which he practices law and writes the ultra pro-slavery articles for the *New York Daily News*. The writer might have added that the same versatile genius does the New York correspondence of the *Boston Journal*, in which his zeal for the pro-slavery evangelical faith is most edifyingly displayed.

Amos Timmons, the free colored man from Salem, O., of whose arrest and confinement as a fugitive slave at Memphis, Tenn., we lately published an account, has been released. *The Bugle* says: "Richard Garrigues, Esq., of Salem, promptly forwarded to the care of Mr. McCrackon the most ample evidences of Timmons's freedom, and, on their presentation to the proper authorities, he was promptly liberated. Timmons says that some of his fellow-laborers of the boat on which he was employed reported him as a fugitive, and, as he had no papers, he was arrested and imprisoned. When will our colored friends learn that in this 'free country' they must have the evidence that they are not chattels, attested and recorded by the Courts, and must always carry copies of the record in their pockets? These paper protections are all that stand between them and the slave pen and the plantation."

M. de Montalembert has achieved a decided triumph over the tyrant Louis Napoleon in the result of his appeal from the sentence lately pronounced against him in the Police Court. The Paris correspondent of *The Times* says:

"The President, M. Perrot de Chezelles delivered the judgment of the Court, which reduced to three months, instead of six, the term of imprisonment imposed by the Police Court; maintained the 3,000 francs fine, but, by the withdrawal of one of the counts in the indictment, completely freed M de Montalembert from the effects of the law of the 27th of February, 1858, under which, even after completing his punishment, he was liable to be transported to Algeria, or be exiled. As this was one of the principal objects of the appeal against the sentence of the Police Court, the judgment of the *Cour Imperiale* is unquestionably a triumph over the government. The decision, which was pronounced at 7 1-2 o'clock, was received by all present with the greatest satisfaction, and M. de Montalembert was warmly congratulated by his friends. The object of M. de Montalembert in appealing, in spite of the ungraceful act of grace, has thus been amply attained. Of the four counts originally standing in the indictment, two only remain—first, that of exciting to hatred and contempt of the government; and, second, of endeavoring to weaken the respect due to the laws. The third charge—that of attacking the principle of universal suffrage, as well as the rights and authority which the head of a State derives from the Constitution—was set aside by the Court. This setting aside of the third charge is the most important of the whole, as it is that for which M. de Montalembert would be liable, as a measure of public safety, to be transported to Algeria, or banished from the country without any form of trial. The appeal has freed him from that liability, and he may now rest sure, so far as the law can protect him, of not being sent into exile."

The Rev. Theodore Parker sent the following note to his congregation on Sunday last:

To the Congregation at the Music Hall; Well-beloved and long-tried friends,

I shall not speak to you to-day; for this morning, a little after 4 o'clock, I had a slight attack of bleeding from the lungs or throat. I intended to preach on the religion of Jesus, and the Christian Church; or the Superiority of Good Will to Man over Belief in Theological Fancies. I hope you will not forget the contribution for the poor, whom we have with us always. I do not know when I shall look upon your welcome faces, which have so often cheered my spirit when my flesh was weak. May we do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with our God, and His blessing will be upon us here and hereafter, for His Infinite Love is with us forever and ever.

Faithfully, your friend, THEODORE PARKER.

The congregation, after hearing this letter, voted to continue Mr. Parker's salary for one year, with the understanding that he would take a respite from all public duties for that period. The subject of continuing public worship by the Society at the Music Hall, or elsewhere, was referred to the Standing Committee, with full powers. A vote expressive of the sympathy of the Society with their pastor was unanimously passed. The Boston *Atlas* understands that Mr. Parker will sail, as soon as possible, for a warmer climate—probably the West Indies.

The following notice of the negro actor, Ira Aldridge, is from the St. Petersburg correspondence of *Le Nord*, under date of Dec. 5. In publishing it we cannot forbear to express the hope that this black genius may yet make his appearance in the United States, to put to shame the vulgar prejudice which insists that the African is a connecting link between men and monkeys. We venture to predict that the first manager who has the boldness to place this star in the American firmament will make his fortune.

"The success of the negro actor, Ira Aldridge, has been wonderful. At his début, people were curious to see an Othello who needed neither crape nor pomade to blacken his face. Many expected tears of laughter rather than tears of emotion, when they learned that Iago and Desdemona would reply to him in German. [The absence of an English troupe forced him to play with German actors.] Those who counted on this were strangely deceived. From his appearance on the stage the African artist completely captivated his audience by his harmonious and resonant voice, and by a style full of simplicity, nature and dignity. For the first time we had seen a tragic hero talk and walk like common mortals, without declamation and without exaggerated gestures. We forgot that we were in a theatre, and followed the drama as if it had been a real transaction.

"The scene in the Third Act, when the sentiment of jealousy is roused in the ferocious Moor, is the triumph of Aldridge. At the first word of the wily insinuation you see his eyes kindle; you feel the tears in his voice when he questions Iago, then the deep sobs which stifle it; and finally, when he is persuaded that his wretchedness is complete, a cry of rage, or rather a roar like that of a wild beast, starts from his abdomen. I still seem to hear that cry; it chilled us with fear and made every spectator shudder. Tears wet his cheeks; his mouth foamed and his eyes flashed fire. I have never seen an artist identify himself so perfectly with the character which he represents. An actor told me that he saw him sob for some moments after his exit from the scene. Everybody, men and women, wept. Boileau was right in saying to actors: 'Weep yourselves, if you would make others weep.' Rachel, in the Fourth Act of *Les Horaces*, is the only artist who ever produced so great an effect. At the first representation the poor Desdemona was so horror-stricken at the terrible expression of the Moor that she sprang from the bed and fled, shrieking with fright.

"In spite of his stony nature, Aldridge can adapt himself to those scenes which require calmness and subdued passion. In Shylock, to see him trembling with fear and indignation before the tribunal which is endeavoring to force Christianity upon him makes one of those impressions which are never effaced. The severest critics find but one fault with him—that, when speaking to characters at the back of the stage, he has the bad habit of turning his back to the public. The director remonstrated with him about this, but it was of no avail."

WAR IN KANSAS.

OUR readers will remember the scenes of violence enacted, some time since, by the pro-slavery party in Southern Kansas, and the desperate and determined efforts of the Free State men, left by the government without protection, to defend themselves. A treaty of peace was finally concluded between the parties, under the influence of Gov. Denver; but the conditions of that treaty having been violated by the border ruffians, the war has broken out afresh. A Free State man having been seized and imprisoned at Fort Scott, Montgomery, the acknowledged leader of the Free State party, organized a force and effected his release. The act was attended by scenes of violence which exasperated the border ruffians, and an expedition was organized for the avowed purpose of arresting Captain Brown, the "hero of Ossawattomie," who is charged by certain Missourians with having aided the escape of certain fugitive slaves. *The Tribune's* Kansas correspondent, writing from Lawrence, December 30, says:

"It happened on the Missouri side of the border. It does not appear that Montgomery had anything to do with it. Mystery shrouds much of the affair, but it is currently charged to 'Old John Brown,' who is said to be in that vicinity. It was the release of a number of negro slaves, variously stated at from six to fifteen. The report is that these were about to be sold by their masters, when a small party from the Territory (it occurred only a few miles from the border) went over and set them free, the negroes very heartily availing themselves of the privilege of going to the Territory with their rescuers. In attempting to keep or retake his slaves, their master, a man named Custer, was killed. Immediately following this affair a force, said to be four hundred strong, mustered on the Missouri side of the border, and threatened another invasion.

"The peaceable citizens of all that region fled from the threatened destruction. In this cold December, families could be seen flying from the disturbed district, with such of their effects as they could take. Some fled to safe portions of the Territory, and others abandoned it forever. The Missouri force hovered near the border for a day or two. 'Old John Brown' was said to be on the Little Osage, several miles on the territorial side of the border, coolly fortifying and waiting for the enemy. The terror about facing a fight with 'Old John Brown' had a peculiar effect on the Missouri force, and a new and conservative sequel for Missouri followed. The force abandoned the idea of a military raid on the Territory, and a committee have gone to the Governor of Missouri to get him to make a requisition on the Governor of Kansas for several persons whom they allege were engaged in the negro affair.

"In the meantime the increasing disturbance reached the newly-arrived Governor, who is beginning to realize, like most of his predecessors, that the Governorship of Kansas is not a bed of roses. He sent down Captain or Sheriff Sam Walker and another gentleman to see if the disturbance could not be stopped. These gentlemen have just returned. They had gone to Montgomery, who insisted on his understanding of the treaty. This, it appears, is inadmissible, and the Governor, I learn, has resolved on sending down a force of troops. If the troops go down on such a mission, as I understand, to arrest Montgomery and some others unconditionally, there will be more trouble. Affairs have got to such a pass there that a fight with the troops is pretty certain."

POLITICS.

Hon. Truman Smith, the "old war-horse" of Connecticut Whiggery, is spoken of as likely to be a Republican candidate for Congress at the next election in that State.

Hon. Wm. Pitt Fessenden was reelected U. S. Senator by the Legislature of Maine on Tuesday last. The vote in the House was as follows: Wm. Pitt Fessenden, 93; E. K. Smart, 42. In the Senate Mr. Fessenden received 29 votes, and Mr. Smart none.

Hon. Henry Wilson was, on Wednesday, reelected U. S. Senator for six years from the fourth of March next, by the Legislature of Massachusetts. In the Senate the vote for him was 35 to 5 scattering; in the House 199 to 35 for Caleb Cushing and 11 or others.

Hon. Kinsley S. Bingham, late Governor of the State and formerly member of Congress, has been elected U. S. Senator by the Legislature of Michigan. He was formerly a member of the Democratic party, but is now a Republican. He succeeds Senator Stuart (Dem.), whose term expires on the 4th of March next.

S. Arnold Douglas was last week reelected U. S. Senator by the Legislature of Illinois. His majority (in joint ballot of the two Houses) was 6; a majority he would not have had but for an unfair apportionment law, giving Southern Illinois an unequal representation in the Legislature.

The *Newark Mercury* says that Robert J. Walker, ex-Governor of Kansas, who, for reasons not hitherto explained, has taken up his residence in New Jersey, is putting himself forward as a candidate for U. S. Senator from that State. "The wonder why he should seclude himself in the classic shades of Hoboken is thus explained."

The Republican members of Assembly in caucus declined to make any concessions to Americans or Anti-Lecompton Democrats. Straight Republicans were nominated and elected. The Speaker, Mr. Littlejohn, is of the Gerrit Smith school, and the Clerk is of a similar stamp.

We find the following in the Albany *Evening Journal*:

The *Argus* quotes from a speech made a year or two since by Speaker Littlejohn to prove him false to the Constitution. The following is one of its points:

"I care not where oppression may be. There I stand merely to repel and resist it. I recognize no power, under Heaven, that can make a slave. I recognize no constitution, no law, that can deprive a man of his personal rights and liberty."

This *The Argus* deems treason. Dare that journal express its unequivocal approval of the *reverse* of this avowal, viz.: that it *would* recognize a Constitution *which deprives a man of his personal rights and liberty?*

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 10, 1859.

IN my last I gave some account of our Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Convention, but omitted to mention one of its chief features, which was the address of Rev. Dr. Furness. In making up my account, I had taken as a guide to my memory the resolutions which were passed, and, following them, I enumerated the topics which were considered and the speakers who took part in the discussions; but as the address of Dr. Furness was a thing by itself, having no relation to any of the resolutions, I carelessly, though not unnaturally, quite omitted to make any mention of it. The same is true of Wm. Wells Brown's dramatic reading, and for the same reason. Both of these performances took place at the same session; this occupied exclusively the second afternoon of the Convention. I allude to them now only to explain my mistake in omitting to notice them and to add that they were admirable, each in its way, and gave the liveliest pleasure to the full audience that listened to them.

The young people of this city, as you will have seen by notices in THE STANDARD, are about forming a new Anti-Slavery Society. They held a meeting with this view on Tuesday evening last, in Clarkson Hall, an edifice in which their fathers and forefathers have been meeting for similar purposes for the last seventy-five years. (Clarkson Hall, by the way, is owned by the old Pennsylvania Abolition Society. It was built in the days of Franklin and Rush, and the desk at which both these worthies presided in the days of early abolition is still in preservation.) The meeting was well attended and seemed animated by an earnest spirit. A question arose, at the outstart, as to which would be most expedient, to form a Society of young men only or one which should include both sexes; and, to try the sense of the meeting, a motion was made that steps be now taken to form a "Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society." After a spirited but amicable discussion, the question was put to vote, and the motion lost, whereupon it was moved that the meeting proceed to form a Junior Anti-Slavery Society, which was unanimously agreed to. A committee of eight, consisting of an equal number of both sexes, was appointed to draw up a Constitution, and, after a very beautiful address from Mary Grew, the meeting adjourned till next Tuesday evening to hear them report. By the time this reaches you, this young enterprise will in all probability be fairly launched, and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society be rejoicing in the possession in fact, if not in form, of a new auxiliary; and this, by the way, is quite a desideratum, for time and change have thinned out our numbers, and those who remain are growing old. An infusion of young blood would quicken our pulses and in every way do us good.

These young people, though chiefly children of Abolitionists, hold their principles not by hereditary transmission, but from personal conviction. Among them are some earnest spirits, and as a body they comprise a more than common degree of ability and culture. You will naturally suppose, therefore, that we regard the movement as one of unusual interest, and that the liveliest hopes are cherished of its usefulness.

Our Legislature is now in session, but it has done nothing as yet worthy of especial notice. Governor Packer's annual message was an ably-written document, which has given general satisfaction. Judge Knox, as Attorney-General, is one of the Governor's Cabinet, and it is not improbable that Mr. Packer has had the good sense, in the preparation of this important State paper, to avail himself of the services of his able associate. The supposition does no discredit to either party, but the contrary.

The message gives a cheering account of the State's finances. Since the sale of the public works, a new era has dawned upon the monetary condition of our Commonwealth. The public debt has been reduced, practically, from forty millions of dollars in round numbers to twenty-nine millions, and the State has at her command resources which will enable her to pay off at the rate of a million a year till the whole be liquidated. Her fiscal credit is above par, and her bonds command a premium. Sidney Smith, though a man of wit, was a stupid stock jobber, or he never would have sold out at a discount from fear that the Quakers would repudiate.

The public works were a source of vast corruption, and their sale has promoted not only the pecuniary, but the moral credit of the State. It has diminished the patronage of the Executive, and, by simplifying its functions, has enabled the government to bend its best energies to the objects for which it was established. The message thus concludes its statements on the subject of finance:

"In view of the foregoing exhibit of our resources and financial condition, it is apparent that a most interesting era has been reached in the history of the Commonwealth. Relieved from the entangling embarrassments of an extensive system of internal improvements, the means of the State are now ample for all legitimate purposes, and her public debt is gradually and certainly disappearing. From these and other causes, governmental action has become greatly simplified, and the nature of the subjects of its operation has changed in a degree no less remarkable.

"The sale of the public works has relieved the Executive branch of the government of many of its most responsible and perplexing duties, and in effect dispensed with one of its most formidable and difficult departments.

"In the same proportion, the action of the Legislature will, if the representatives of the people be true to the interests reposed, and sternly refuse to entangle the public with those numerous projects and enterprises which are continually seeking its alliance, be simplified and economized, purified and strengthened.

"And it is as remarkable as it is propitious that an era which has thus relieved the State authorities of burdens that consisted either of mere material interests or the care of local administration—committing the one to the local sovereignty of the people, and the other to private or associated enterprise—should also present for consideration and promotion intellectual and moral claims of peculiar importance."

The Governor then introduces the subject of Popular Eductaion, which he treats in a statesmanlike manner. He says:

"It is at this period in our history that the system of public education challenges the attention of the most unobservant. And I shall be much mistaken in the cautious but steadfast character of the people of Pennsylvania if their representatives do not make it the first object of their solicitude.

"The annual report of the Superintendent of Common Schools will lay before you the present condition of the common school system, and of its operations during the past year. Your close and scrutinizing attention is invited to the details of that document.

"Including the City of Philadelphia, it will be observed that there were in the public schools of the State, during the year which terminated on the first Monday of last June, 628,201 pupils; these were instructed during an average term of a little over five months, in 11,281 schools, by 13,856 teachers, at a total cost of $2,427,632.41.

"Here is a public interest which, whether we regard its ramifications into every portion of our social fabric, its future effects, the important powers over the present which it wields, or its incalculable influence upon the future, undoubtedly transcends all others committed to the care of the secular authorities. This being the case, I have no hesitation in asserting that the time has arrived when its full importance should be recognized, and that its due administration should be made the duty of a fully organized and effective, as well as a separate, department in the government."

And so he goes on at length to point out the defects of our present system, to mention remedies and suggest measures which, if adopted, cannot fail to promote the cause of popular education, and thereby advance, in the most effective manner, the best interests of the people.

In the matter of Federal politics, the Governor reiterates what he said last year in regard to Kansas. He says:

"When I was called upon to assume the Gubernatorial chair, nearly one year ago, in deference to public opinion and my own feelings, after a rapid review of events in Kansas, I stated that 'to the people of Pennsylvania the admission of a new State into the Union—into that Confederacy of which she is a member—must be at all times a subject of high interest. And I believe I express their sentiments, as well as my own, in declaring that all the qualified electors of a Territory should have a full and fair opportunity to participate in selecting delegates to form a Constitution preparatory to admission as a State, and, if desired by them, they should also be allowed an unqualified right to vote upon such Constitution after it is framed.'

"Subsequent events have confirmed me in these sentiments. The deplorable disputes in the first session of the present Congress, the popular excitement resulting from those disputes, together with other proceedings, in their nature novel and alarming, would all have been averted had the people been secured in 'the unqualified right' to vote upon their domestic institutions. I regret to be compelled to say that, under various pretences, this sacred franchise has been virtually withheld from them. When they refused to accept the Lecompton Constitution, made for them by delegates representing the minority, they were explicitly denied the privilege of making their own Constitution, unless upon a condition not previously exacted. If they accepted the Lecompton Constitution, they entered the sisterhood of States at once, with a population less than one-half of the existing ratio of Congressional representation; but, if they refused that Constitution, they could not be admitted into the Union, with the Constitution of their choice, until they were ready to show by a formal census that they had attained a population equal to that ratio. The results have become historical.

"The last expressive vote of the people of Kansas against the act of Congress, commonly known as the English bill, has for a time arrested Congressional intervention. Peace has resulted alone from the votes of the people, not from the suggestions of outside influences. But, during the angry feelings which this controversy has aroused, the theory has been started, and insisted upon, that it will henceforward be the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories, if the people of the Territories shall fail to do so. The warrant for this extraordinary assumption is alleged to exist in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott. Entertaining, as I do, profound reverence for the decisions of that august tribunal, and standing ready to obey them whenever they are enunciated, I have yet to be convinced that any such construction can be fairly given to their action in the case referred to. Such a doctrine, no matter how sanctioned or supported, will shake the very pillars of our constitutional fabric. It would compel every Territory to elevate property in slaves above every other description of property, and to establish a slave code in its early municipal regulations; or else it would convert the Congress into a theatre of criminations and confusion, and fill the whole country with strife. And all this without securing a single advantage to the North, or protecting a single right of the South.

"Regarding myself as fully committed to the doctrine of popular sovereignty in its broadest sense, I can never subscribe to the theory of Congressional intervention, as understood and supported by the opponents of this doctrine. By popular sovereignty I mean no violation of the rights of the States—no assault upon the institutions of the South—no appeal to sectional prejudices. On the contrary, I regard the doctrine as the embodiment of the popular will in States and Territories, as the conservator of the rights and the equality of States and people, and as the only means by which a vexed and dangerous agitation will be satisfactorily and perpetually 'settled.'"

This is not saying a great deal; but, considering who it is that says it—a Pennsylvania Democratic Governor—it is rather encouraging than otherwise. From such quarters the smallest favors to Freedom are gratefully received. Governor Packer concludes what he has to say on the subject of slavery with the following paragraph:

"A theory equally heretical has been advanced in another portion of the Union. It has been held that this government, divided into free and slave States, as it was framed by our revolutionary fathers, cannot endure—that all must become free, or all become slave. When such a doctrine shall be enforced, the Constitution will have been subverted, State sovereignty prostrated, State rights disregarded, and the liberties of the people destroyed. It should meet an indignant rebuke from every lover of his country, and the blood-bought right of the people and the States to self-government."

This is intended partly to avert the charge of "ultra" views—a precaution we should think wholly unnecessary—and partly to take the wind out of the sails of the Seward Republicans. For Governor Packer is evidently a Douglas man. He and Forney, and the leaders generally of the anti-Lecompton Democrats of this State, are shaping things with a view to make Douglas the next candidate of the party for the Presidency. Their platform is to be Popular Sovereignty; hostility to Congressional intervention for the support of slavery in the Territories; and opposition to Northern interference with slavery in the States. Of this more anon. I must now close in haste. M.

BOUND OVER.—The men arrested in Georgia upon the charge of importing slaves in the yacht Wanderer have, after examination, been bound over to answer at the next term of the U. S. District Court.

Summary.

Miles Standish's pipe and pistol were sold at auction in Albany a few days ago. The pipe was the veritable one which came over with him in the May Flower, and was smoked by him until his death, and was made of iron. It brought $15. The pistol brought a like sum.

AFTER-DINNER QUOTATION OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.—

What am I to [uic] Cuba,
Or [uic] Cuba to me,
That I should conquer her?

—*Saturday Press.*

CHARMS.—An enterprising jeweller in Washington has found and cut up coal brick which Montgomery of Pennsylvania shied at the leg of English of Indiana into the most delightful "charms" to adorn the watch chains of the sporting fraternity. Another, not to be outdone in metropolitan taste and skill, has had English's shivered cane picked up, brought in and carved into beautiful rings, for Christmas presents.

TOO TRUE.—An editor, whose vocation requires him to travel all over this great country, has been amusing himself by gathering statistics of politeness and boorishness among men and women travelling by cars and steamboats. Of twenty-three men whom he helped to a cigar-light, or loaned them a newspaper, twenty said: "Thank you, sir." Of nineteen women to whom he paid a courtesy—such as giving up his seat, picking up a dropped veil, shawl, or the like—only seven said, "Thank you," and two of those were "furriners."

ANCIENT COINS.—Among the coins presented to the Tennessee Historical Society recently was a Grecian drachme, of silver, of value about 17 cents, coined in the days of Alexander the Great, 335 years B. C. It was picked up in the streets of the once buried Pompeii, by W. H. Polk, Esq., while he was in Italy as Charge d'Affairs of the United States to the two Sicilies, in 1845. It has on one side the head of Alexander; on the reverse a figure of Jupiter sitting in a chair, holding a *hasta pura* (spear of favor) in his left hand, and an imperial eagle in the right. There are several symbols, and the inscription "Alexandron" on the same side.

SOLD THE BABY FOR $50.—A man lately passed through Nashville, Tenn., with a drove of negroes destined for a Southern market. In the lot there were several infants, which he did not desire to take with him, because, as he said, they would injure the sale of their mothers. Some of these he disposed of here, separating them, of course, from their parents.

For the sum of fifty dollars he sold to a lady in this city an infant of three months, consoling its mother with the fiendish remark that he would kill it unless he could sell it.—*Nashville Gazette.*

HIGH PRICES FOR NEGROES.—A sale of land and slaves took place at Sussex County, Va., on the 27th ult., aggregating $50,000. A negro girl with one child brought $1,705, and an old man, who had been a runaway for ten years past, and been apprehended a few days before the sale, brought $500. In Petersburg, Va., on the 28th, a gang of 39, mostly children, sold for $22,082 50; one of them, a girl of ten years, brought $1,151. At Autauga, Ala., last week, the sales of one day amounted to over $60,000, and a common field-hand sold for $2,100.

THE SLAVE TRADE IN ARKANSAS.—The following proceedings, touching the reopening of the African slave trade, took place in the Arkansas Legislature a few days since:

"Mr. Humphreys offered the following joint resolution:

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, That our Senators in Congress are instructed and our Representatives are requested to use all the influence within their power to suppress and put down every attempt to reopen the African slave trade.

"Mr. Carrigan moved to lay the resolution on the table; on which motion, the yeas and nays were demanded and stood: Yeas, 20; Nays, 2.

"So the resolution was tabled."—*Arkansas True Dem.*

FREE NEGROES IN ARKANSAS.—A bill has been introduced into the Legislature of Arkansas whose object is to rid the State of free negroes. It provides in substance that all free negroes now in the State may become slaves by choosing for whom it is said, are in the habit of using snuff. We hope the good work may go on, until every person, male or female, is fully weaned from the filthy and disgusting habit of using tobacco. The pledge in circulation, and already bearing the signatures of twenty-five or thirty residents of Beaudeni, reads as follows: "We, the undersigned, agree to abstain, from this day, Nov. 1858, for the term of one year, from the use of tobacco, in any form, under the penalty of five dollars for the first offence, to be paid to the Treasurer of this School District, and applied by him to the support of the Common Schools." The experiences of some of the inveterate "smokers" and "chewers," who have recently taken the obligation to discard "the weed," as related by themselves, are very amusing, and go to show what a stubborn resolution is required to break a man off from a habitual indulgence of the appetite in any shape. They are frequently prompted to go back to old habits, and the temptation seems almost too strong to resist; but they manifest a determination to struggle with the tempter and come off victorious. Keep the ball rolling on; there is a wide field for operation.—*Bucks Co. (Pa.) Intelligencer.*

A NEW YEAR'S CALL ON THE PRESIDENT.—A correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* thus describes his New Year's visit to Mr. Buchanan:

"While I was out on the avenue yesterday, engaged in the routine of precipitate calls essential to the anniversary, some evil fate prompted one of the party to propose that we should pay our respects at the White House, where Mr. Buchanan was advertised in the daily priuts as being on exhibition from 12 till 2 o'clock precisely.

"Taking our place in the ranks of the unshaken, we were ushered through the large antechamber along a cordon of at least fifty policemen in uniform, to a room where we passed in similar review a dozen deputy marshals of the district. In the next chamber stood the President in active gymnastic exercise, flanked by two stout Irish constables to preserve order in case of a jam or a fight. At a short distance beyond was stationed Miss Lane, attended by Marshal Selden, whose duty seemed to be to repeat incessantly, 'Pay your respects to this lady'; which duty had been so faithfully performed that he found a difficulty in articulation, such as is often experienced by battery mules in rehearsing the exploits of Peter Piper. Having enjoyed my shake, and had my pocket picked simultaneously (a crime from which I exculpate the President, both his hands being busy at the time), we were shoved along another cordon of police into the East Room, out of which we were ushered into a hall, and then expelled from the building through a window, over a platform of boards, lined with policemen on each side. All this was accomplished to the tune of the Star-Spangled Banner, played by a feeble band in an invisible chamber."

ARTISTS' RECEPTION.—On Tuesday evening (Jan. 4) the artists of this city gave one of their receptions, as they call them, at Dodsworth's Hall in Broadway. The large exhibition room was hung with new pictures and crowded with company, so crowded, in fact, that it was a task of some difficulty to look at the works of art as they ought to have been looked at. Among them was a beautiful picture of a female by Huntington, painted in his very best style, with a beautiful effect of color. She is represented with an open volume on her knee, on the pages of which she is tracing lines with a pencil; her eyes are cast down on the book with an expression of being perfectly and profoundly absorbed in her task. Rossiter's picture of three children, the artist's own, was much admired. There were some sketches by Durand, and a charming little cabinet picture, a female head and bust, by Gray. Eminger's illustrations of Longfellow's Courtship of Miles Standish were there, and attracted much attention. They are quite superior to the photographs we have seen taken from them, and are among the few pictorial illustrations of poetry which satisfy those who are familiar with the poet. Mignot had a South American in the collection, brilliantly painted. We only regret that we could not have had a better opportunity to contemplate the different paintings on the walls. We have an agreeable impression of several of them yet remaining on our minds, but find it impossible to recollect the names of the artists. There are several young men of high promise, whose names are just beginning to appear in our exhibitions.

These receptions of the artists are beginning to be a peculiarity of our metropolis; a good many intelligent people are attracted to them, and they make the works and merits of our artists more generally known.—*Eve. Post.*

MISSISSIPPI PREPARED FOR WAR!!—We have the pleasure of informing our fire-eating friends of the Jeff Davis school, who believe that the State of Mississippi ought immediately to prepare for war, by turning her muskets into Minie rifles, preparing shot, shell, ammunition, etc., that the thing is done did; that the glorious old State in whose behalf the gallant "sage of Brierfield" has "fit, bled, and died," is now prepared for war, and ready to blow to flinders all the rascally Northerners who dare to put their unhallowed feet on the "soil of the sovereign State of Mississippi." A report of the condition of the arms of the State was laid before the Legislature at its late session, and, as near as we can recollect, the following is the exact condition of the *powerful armament*:

4 flint-lock muskets—all rusty, and no breeches to at least two.
1 cannon.
7 bayonets.
A pile of belts and scabbards, but no swords.
59 cartridge boxes.

There is a great deal of rubbish in the arsenal, which might be used after being repaired, but the above is the *available* armament. Considering that Mississippi is only *one* State, great as she is, and that the North, cowardly as they are reported to be, consists of seventeen States, it is feared that the above array of terror-striking messengers of death will not carry sufficient awe to the hearts of the Northerners; we therefore inform them that, in addition to the above, we now have 5 Major Generals, 10 Brigadier Generals, and 60 Colonels, 60 Lieutenant Colonels, 60 Majors, and will soon have 600 Captains, 1200 Lieutenants, 4 800 Sergeants and 4 800 Corporals. We are happy to inform them, however, that we have no privates—the Legislature having dispensed with that useless portion of an army. There is no use in the North fooling her time with the State of Mississippi—she had better let us alone, or we'll—we'll—we'll—send Jeff Davis back to Maine.—*Vicksburg Whig.*

A NEGRO CHRISTMAS IN THE OLD DOMINION.—A six hours' ride from Washington brought us to the mountain range of Western Virginia.

It is Christmas day, and the *darkeys* are enjoying it to their heart's content. This is the *first* of their annual holidays, and the Sabbath after New Year's day will be their last, until another year shall dawn upon these dominions. They are allowed to go where they choose, and do pretty much as they please, during the continuance of the holidays, and their owners or employers have to manage the best way they can during this time. It subjects the people to much inconvenience many times to be deprived of their *help*, but there is no alternative, for the darkeys all seem to know their *holiday rights*, and, knowing, dare maintain them.

On this day (Christmas) much of the *hiring* is done among those who have slaves to let and those who want to hire. It is worthy of remark that but few slaves, comparatively, are bought and sold in this part of Virginia. Most are *hired*—a business which usually occurs but once a year. Public notice is made in the papers that on Christmas day, at certain parts of the State, slaves will be offered for *hire*, whereat those in want assemble and make the best bargain they can with the owners for such help.

It is quite a novelty to see, on Christmas day, here in Virginia, the darkeys dressed *a la fancy*, and going from place to place, either mounted upon their master's horses, in wagons, or on foot. A low bow, with the request that you will not forget their *Christmas gift*, invariably accompanies, and is heard from any and all of them who never saw you before; and woe to the fellow-traveller who is unwilling to recognize this their *inalienable right*. It may be proper to remark that the usual salutation at the North of "Merry Christmas" is little heard in Virginia, but in its stead "Christmas Gift" is substituted, so that the first person speaking demands the forfeit.

Most of the *weddings*, too, among the darkeys, occur during the holidays at this season of the year.—*New London Star.*

BUCHANAN ON WHISKEY.—It must be conceded that our worthy President has great versatility of literary talent. Few would have supposed that, amid the cares of state, he could have found time or inclination to cast off for a moment the incubus of that Pacific Railroad, or the lingering reminiscences of the Ostend Manifesto, and turn his colossal mind to whiskey. Yet such is the fact. Buchanan discourses upon the refreshing beverage with that brevity which is the soul of wit; and it will be a gratifying surprise for the readers of the last Presidential Message to learn that Mr. Buchanan *can* write briefly and to the point.

The facts of the case are these: A firm of distillers in Pittsburg, Pa., who put up "rye whiskey in ten or one gallon packages," sent to the White House a package, with their compliments. Mr. Buchanan, who never flinches when duty calls, exercised his bibulous powers upon the package, and, moved by gratitude to the givers of such goods, penned to them an autographic letter, in which, with tears of gratitude in his eyes, he says: "Your rye whiskey excels in mildness and fine flavor any spirits I ever drank."

We may imagine the delight of the Pittsburg distillers on the receipt of this missive. They probably skipped about the streets of the Iron City for very joy, clasping the President's letter and envelope to their hearts, and saying to their friends, with Miss Flite, "These are documents!" Of course they could not keep their good fortune from the public, and so their whiskey advertisements in the newspapers are headed with the name of the President of these United States of America.

Nor were they wrong in so doing; for it will be noticed that the President writes as one having authority, and not as an ignoramus on the subject. He stands on a whiskey platform to be had and precedents and antecedents, and he boldly meets the issue. Observe that he says this peculiar whiskey excels *any

Miscellaneous Department.

For The Standard.

THE POOR MAN'S SONG.

From the German of Uhland, by Mrs. Follen.

A poor man, poorer none, am I,
And walk the world alone,
Yet do I call a spirit free
And cheerful heart my own.

A gleesome child, I played about
My dear, dear parents' hearth,
And grief hath fallen upon my path
Since they are laid in earth.

I see rich gardens round me bloom,
I see the golden grain,
My path is bare, and barren all,
And trod with toil and pain.

And yet, though sick at heart, I'll stand
Where happy faces throng,
And wish good morrow heartily
To all who pass along.

Oh, bounteous God! Thou leav'st me not
To comfortless despair,
There comes a gentle balm from heaven
To every child of care.

Still in each dell thy sacred house
Points mutely to the sky,
The organ and the choral song
Arrest each passer by.

Still shines the sun, the moon, the stars
With blessings e'en on me;
And when the evening bell rings out,
Then, Lord, I speak to Thee.

One day shall to the good disclose
Thy halls of joy and rest;
Then, in my wedding robes, e'en I
Shall seat me as thy guest.

ROBERT EMMET.

I want a hero: an uncommon want.—Byron.

Translated for The Standard *from the French of Madame* D'Haussonville.

IN CONTINUATION.....III.

"Who" (says Madden) "that remembers the cherished son of Ireland, the heroic young man of 1803, can forget her whose name is forever inseparable from his own? It may well be thought that Robert Emmet, whose mind was as delicately cultivated as his soul was lofty and his principles severe, had not lightly given his affections." He became the ardent admirer of Miss Curran, and no one will doubt that, uniting as he did all that captivates the imagination of woman, he had no difficulty in winning the love of a young girl of eighteen, to whom he was passionately attached. An innocent and restrained affection, as ardent as it was pure, engaged these two young persons to each other, of the origin and progress of which we know but little. With that proud and delicate reserve natural to the English in all that concerns the relations of the heart, Mr. Richard Curran tells us as little as possible of this domestic drama in his father's life which attracted public attention. He limits himself to the publication of two letters of Robert Emmet, with the following remark, "These letters contain all that is to be said"; and thus he seems to forbid unauthorized curiosity to penetrate farther. The little that is known comes to us through a woman, named Anne Devlin, employed in the service of Robert Emmet, who was the bearer of his letters. "Every time I gave Miss Curran a letter from Mr. Robert," she says, "I saw her turn pale and change countenance." After a time, when Curran thought he saw indications of Emmet's passion for his daughter, and of a good understanding between them, he exhibited dissatisfaction, and treated him with coolness, though till then he had welcomed him with affectionate interest. He had the highest opinion of his talents and character. "I should have relied on his word," Curran often said, "more than on the oath of any other man." But he knew that Emmet was drawn into a dangerous position, by the known opinions of his family, and his own warmth of expression. He was far, however, from suspecting how deeply the heart of his daughter was engaged, and only entertained vague suspicions. From that time an engagement subsisted between Robert and Miss Curran, which in absence was strengthened by an intimate correspondence.

It was about this time that a friend of the family officiously informed the parents of Thomas Moore that the intimacy of their son with Robert Emmet had been remarked, and that the success of his future career, and even his personal safety, required him thenceforward to abstain from appearing in public places with him. This warning was followed by a solemn visit from the Lord Chancellor (Lord Clare) to the University, which ended by the expulsion of nineteen students known for the boldness of their opinions; among whom are to be counted William Corbet, Power, Ardagh, Slattery, Carroll, Russell and Robert Emmet. All were more or less suspected of a connection with secret societies, and of having held meetings at each other's rooms, where treasonable talk was heard. A tribunal of inquisition was instituted in the bosom of the University, and each student was required to take in turn an oath of fidelity to the English government, and to denounce to it such of his comrades as were supposed to be members of the association of United Irishmen. They thus tempted each student to become an informer, under penalty of seeing every career closed against him. Robert Emmet and some others refused to appear before this tribunal—were declared contumacious, and their names stricken from the roll of the University. Thomas Moore appeared, and refused to inform against his comrades. The persecution was extended even to the friends of Robert Emmet; and a very distinguished young man named Dacre Hamilton, who was intimate with him less out of political sympathy than through the same mathematical taste and ability, was also excluded. "Whatever might be his speculative interest in the popular cause," says Moore, "he was as innocent as I of any of the plottings of the United Irishmen. But he appeared before the tribunal and refused to denounce his comrades, and that was enough to ruin him." On this occasion Robert Emmet wrote a letter to the college authorities and to the rector of the University, to protest against his expulsion and denounce the odious proceedings of the government. Before sending his letter, he showed it to his father, who gave it his entire approbation. This arbitrary act, which thenceforth closed before him every liberal career, did but still more strongly attach him to the way of conspiracy. From that moment he became one of the most active agents of the United Irishmen, and fulfilled, as such, many secret and dangerous missions. He learned, from undoubted authority, that he was no longer safe in Ireland, and thought it prudent for a time to absent himself. Before departing for the continent, he went to Fort St. George, where his brother was to be imprisoned. After passing two months with him, he went to Dublin, where he was present at the stormy debates which preceded the act of Union, and at the last sittings of the Irish Parliament, June, 1800.

The sagacious genius of the great statesman who then ruled the destinies of England had long conceived the plan of uniting the two countries. Profiting, in 1800, by the exhaustion of the country, and the unpopularity of the Parliament, Mr. Pitt at length executed this deep political design, in spite of moral principle and sworn faith. The act of union was purchased of a corrupt Parliament and imposed upon an annihilated people. The Irish Parliament, where Protestants were exclusively seated, had for years been only an instrument of tyranny in the hands of England. During the progress and after the check of the insurrection, it had lent itself unresistingly to the violent and illegal measures of repression imposed by the Lord Lieutenant. Still, even within that servile Parliament, that breath of liberty which kindled the Rebellion created a liberal and patriotic opposition. In 1782 it had wrested from the English government measures favorable to Irish commerce. That brilliant constellation of orators, of which Grattan was a bright particular star, appeared but for a moment above the horizon. Discouraged by its useless efforts, and exhausted by the struggle against tyranny, they had retired, and reappeared only to protest against the act of union. A Parliament that, after pitilessly oppressing the country it was supposed to represent, finished by selling itself for money, merited no great regret; and if, in pursuit of our ends, we deem all means allowable, we may, without reserve, admire the act of union. It was an able act of policy in the English point of view, and even in an Irish one, the impossibility of separation once admitted.

It seems, at first view, that of three parties, the intermediate one must be the wisest: it is sometimes the most chimerical one; or at least the one presenting the greatest difficulties. Heroic remedies are in certain cases more in conformity with reason than the temperate measures of the *juste milieu*. It is common for politicians to deal in mutual contempt. The United Irishmen accused the moderate patriots of weakness and hesitation. They called them *trimmers*, and were in return called madmen. Nothing, however, could have been more difficult than to make Ireland a free country, with its own rights, its own constitution, its own unchecked commerce, with Catholic emancipation, while still attached to the crown of England. As long as Ireland was a conquered nation, she was an oppressed one. It was by abdicating national existence, and consenting to become a province of England, that she was one day to find grace in the sight of her mighty sister. The pride of England would have sooner suffered an independent nation by her side than a free one not holding its liberty directly from herself. Catholic emancipation, introducing into Parliament a hostile majority, would have immediately effected a separation. It does not follow that it would be possible or honorable for an Irishman to consent to such a transaction. There are unfortunate situations where honor and dignity forbid what is counselled by a certain wisdom, not of the most elevated kind. England did not even propose a bargain to Ireland: she gave nothing but vague promises, which were by no means certain to be even realized. At that period at least her promises were deceitful: not until thirty years later did England find herself forced to yield to the irresistible march of time. The resistance opposed by the moderate patriots to the act of union, while devoted to the interests of their country, and while remaining faithful subjects of the English government, was, in their opinion, an inconsistency, but an honorable inconsistency. If the Irish Parliament had always been anti-national, the right to make laws, and to govern itself, was a national one. This humiliating degradation, which delivered it over, as a conquered province, to the mercy of its oppressors, aroused, from one end of Ireland to the other, every lofty passion and every patriotic feeling. The English government finished by corruption what it began by terror. It is, in truth, difficult indeed not to admit the assertion of Grattan: "In those days one might be a rebel and an honest man, but one could not be an honest man and a partisan of the English Minister." *

The last sittings of the Irish Parliament offer a dramatic interest. We witness the death-agony of a nation. Grattan caused himself to be carried, ill and almost dying, like Chatham, to the House of Lords, to the ancient theatre of his glory, within those walls, where, eighteen years before, his voice had rung in favor of the rights and the liberties of his country, to protest once more and for the last time against her degradation. He staggered as he walked; and by an involuntary movement of respect, the whole assembly rose at his approach. He asked leave to address them seated, for he could not stand up. They consented by acclamation; and, forgetting by degrees his weakness, he spoke for two hours. He recalled all the wrongs, all the sufferings of Ireland, all the betrayal and severity of England. He unveiled the alternate violence and corruption of Pitt and Castlereagh, for the attainment of their ends, and closed with this pathetic peroration:

"The constitution for a time may perish, the country, too, may seem to perish with it: but one day, perhaps, the ministers of the Crown may learn that it is not so easy to degrade an ancient and honorable nation. The star of Liberty shall shine anew over this land, and the cry of Loyalty shall not prevail against that of Liberty. Without national liberty, union with England cannot last. Union is a wise, a profound policy, but without a separate Parliament, without rights, without equality, it is only extinction—the dishonor of our country. It is not union, it is conquest and slavery, and yet I do not despair of my native land. Ireland is in a swoon, but she is not dead. Stretched in her tomb, without strength and motionless, I yet see the breath of life straying over her lips, and the colors of beauty upon her cheeks.

'Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced here.'

While a plank floats, I shall not abandon the vessel. Let others turn their sails to the winds of power and favor, I shall stay by the anchor of the dismasted ship, faithful to my country's fortune, faithful to her liberty, faithful in her ruin!"

The day the act of union passed, the galleries and the tribunes were filled by a crowd palpitating with the same emotion. They knew what traffic of corruption had been publicly carried on in the bosom of Parliament, and hope, notwithstanding, subsisted still. Sure of success, Lord Castlereagh quietly awaited the result of the vote with a smile on his lips. The agitation of men's hearts showed itself in every face. A confused murmur rose within and beyond the assembly, when the speaker, rising, with the bill of union in his hand, said, with a slow voice, "Let those who approve the act of union raise their hands." An affirmative, languid as if ashamed of itself, responded to the call. The speaker slowly cast his eyes over the assembly, and stood a moment fixed as a statue. "The act of union is carried," he said at length: then, with a gesture of indignation and disgust which he could not repress, he threw the bill on the table and sank back in his seat. "During these stormy debates," says Lord Cloncurry, "while the high priests of the constitution, the orators and the juris-consultes vehemently proclaimed in the temple of law itself that resistance was an obligation, and insurrection a duty, a youth in the tribunes, with pale face and burning eye, listened in silence, making oath in his heart one day to deliver his native land."

When Robert Emmet departed for the continent, Ireland, vanquished and mutilated, no longer gave signs of life. The convulsions which preceded the act of union were followed by the peace of the grave. Still, under this apparent immobility slumbered the fire of conspiracy, ready to flame at the slightest breath of hope. Travelling like a young man who was amusing himself and finishing his education, Robert was in reality a secret agent of the United Irishmen, for the renewal, sooner or later, with France and the First Consul, of the negotiations concluded between the insurgents of 1798 and the French Republic. The circumstances seemed doubtless unfavorable, and we must suppose his mission to have been neither very precise nor very imperative; for he travelled two years on the continent, visiting successively Holland, Switzerland, the south of France and finally Cadiz; accompanied by Mr. John Allen, one of the state prisoners formerly detained at Fort St. George and liberated with Thomas Addis Emmet. In the autumn of 1802, while the continually increasing bitterness and irritation between France and England presaged the rupture of the peace of Amiens, we find Robert at Paris, with his brother, Arthur O'Connor, MacNeven, Lord Cloncurry, and all the Irish emigration. He passed two months at Paris, and it was an opportunity for mingling in that brilliant and volatile society, intoxicated with pleasure and victory, newly born, of gloomy tempests of the revolution, to the marvels of life and civilization.

The First Consul was in constant communication with Ireland, and the Irish then at Paris. Already meditating the invasion of England, he had enrolled in his army an Irish brigade. Among the shifting ideas that then wrought in his brain was that of making use of Ireland as a key to open the united kingdom. There exist, among the archives of France, curious documents respecting the First Consul's connection with the leaders of the Irish emigration. "The affairs of Ireland," he writes to the Minister of the Marine, "make me aware of the importance of having private conferences with the Irish who are at Paris." Two long letters, addressed by Thomas Addis Emmet to the First Consul and to the Minister of War, are without doubt a response to these advances. Thomas Addis Emmet, while declaring his confidence in the promises of the First Consul, while assuring him that he does not doubt his sincere interest in the independence of Ireland, is careful to repeat, in every possible form, that the landing of the French would be the signal of their extermination should they present themselves as conquerors and not as allies. Robert Emmet, upon his arrival in Paris, had an interview with the First Consul, and several successive conversations with Monsieur de Talleyrand, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. One is curious to know what the conversation held between General Bonaparte and the young Irish enthusiast could be. Unfortunately Madden gives no details, and I have sought in vain for any trace of it. It is only known that Robert Emmet went away from it dissatisfied. "The First Consul," he said, "did not inspire him with the least confidence." He cared no more about Ireland than he did about liberty and the Republic; and in the torrent of his words only one sincere intention could one discover—that of declaring war as soon as possible. Emmet believed also in the reality of his plan of a descent upon England, war once declared; "and for his own part, was resolved never to offer him the means of setting foot upon the soil of Ireland." He was hardly better satisfied with Monsieur de Talleyrand, and found him very ignorant of Irish affairs. He thought, however, that, in the case of a rupture with England, one might bring him to labor seriously for the deliverance of Ireland and its establishment as an independent republic, sustained by an alliance with France. "It is," says Madden, "surprising that it should have been the youngest of the Irish then in Paris who showed the most penetration, sagacity and suspicion in his intercourse with the First Consul." Robert Emmet was, however, extremely liable to illusions in whatever concerned his cause and his country; but it is not uncommon to find a wise, judicious intellect united with an ardor of passion which, on certain points, obscures the reality. Youth and enthusiasm of feeling do not necessarily vitiate the judgment as to individuals; and, moreover, it required no great perspicacity to guess that the First Consul, in mingling in the debates of England and Ireland, could have no other purpose than to make himself important to the parties engaged—to take the umpire's seat, as the saying is. But division, that scourge of the vanquished, had by that time entered into the midst of the Irish emigration. In the heat of party spirit, certain of their number, among whom was Arthur O'Connor, had reached the point of desiring at any rate a change of masters, preferring the yoke of France to the intolerable oppression of England. Robert Emmet and his brother were not of this number; they appreciated the difficulties and the dangers of the situation better than the rest. Still, it may be that Ireland might at that period have found profit by the change: she would have gained liberty of conscience. The yoke of France would certainly have been lighter than that of England, and would not have been aggravated by that antipathy of race which makes a foreign rule so hateful. Easy as it might even then have been to recognize the Emperor under the guise of the First Consul, nothing announced what he afterwards became. The conqueror of Arcola and Marengo, the liberator of Italy, was still the head of the French Republic. Yet it was in some sort in spite of himself, and in deference to the chiefs of his party, that Robert Emmet consented to treat of the affairs of Ireland with this powerful and dangerous ally. In order to prove to his brother that he was not mistaken in his suspicions of the First Consul, Robert at length procured of Monsieur Otto, then resident in London, the copy of a despatch to the effect that if England would expel from her territory the French emigrants who were objects of suspicion to the First Consul, the latter would act in perfect reciprocity, and would put at her disposition the emigrants who had sought an asylum on French territory. These were no other than the Irishmen with whom he had been for two years negotiating.

It seems, moreover, that the dislike was reciprocal, the First Consul, on his side, showing himself quite as little satisfied with these conferences with the chiefs of the Irish emigration. It may be that the practical character of his mind inspired him with something of contempt for whatever was chimerical in their projects. Perhaps, too, his instinctive love for power, of whatever kind, made him prefer the cause of England to that of Ireland, feeble and oppressed, in spite of his actual hates at the time. With General Bonaparte, the soul never rose to the height of his genius. His powerful intellect beheld all things under an aspect at once great and real, but the true elevation which comes from the soul was ever wanting to him. Admirable in council and in battle, without dignity or greatness at Fontainbleau and Saint Helena, where he found himself alone in face of misfortune, he has, perhaps, in an evil hour for France, left a lasting imprint upon the land he dazzled while degrading.

Men are mistaken, however, in thinking their fellows must needs be consistent in good or evil; and often the profoundest politicians have neither the depth of calculation nor of perfidy supposed. It is possible that the First Consul had not, in fact, at that time any evil intentions respecting Ireland, however little reason there might be for confiding in him for the future. Probably he hardly took the trouble to consider whether he was sincere in his promises or not. Some days after having received Thomas Addis Emmet's letter, General Bonaparte caused the following reply to be sent him:

"The First Consul has read with the greatest attention the memoir addressed to him by Monsieur Emmet on the 13 Nivose. He wishes the United Irishmen to feel convinced of his intention to assure the independence of Ireland. The General appointed to the command of the expedition will be furnished with letters, signed and sealed, in which the First Consul will declare that he will never make peace with England without stipulating for the independence of Ireland; provided, however, that the army should be joined by a considerable body of United Irishmen.*

"Ireland should be placed in every respect on the footing of America in the past war.

"Every person embarking with the French army of expedition shall be regarded as French. If arrested and not treated as a prisoner of war, the English prisoners shall be subjected to reprisals.

"The First Consul desires the formation of a United Irish Committee. He sees no objection to the issuing of proclamations by this Committee, or to their giving their countrymen information as to the state of affairs.

"These proclamations shall be inserted in the *Argus*, and in the different European journals, in order to inform the Irish as to the course to be pursued, and the hopes to be entertained. If the Committee choose to prepare a statement of the acts of tyranny exercised against Ireland by the English government, it shall be inserted in the *Moniteur*."

As soon as news of the approaching rupture between France and England reached Ireland, that country awoke from the lethargy into which it had sunk since the act of union. Hope and passion were rekindled; once more Futurity loomed in sight. The disaffection was as deep and general as in 1798, but with all the difference that exists between the discouragement that follows defeat and the ardor that precedes the struggle. "If we do not take care, we shall lose Ireland," wrote Lord Charles Bentinck; "the people are as ready as ever for rebellion." In a letter of Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, we remark this passage: "I know not whether the war our wise Ministers are about to declare will retain you in India. I hope, however, to see you next year in Ireland—always in case England *has* any Ireland belonging to her next year."

Robert Emmet was not the author and instigator of the conspiracy of 1803, however his name remains identified with that heroic and ill-fated attempt. He was in France when he learned that the rising was in preparation, and consented to take part in the conspiracy. Here one remarks certain contradictions in the different narratives. According to Madden, Robert Emmet must have received, before departing, the approbation of the United Irish leaders then in Paris. In fact, MacNeven forwarded to him a proclamation summoning the Irish people to insurrection; and a letter of Thomas Addis Emmet, speaking of his projected departure for America, contains these express words: "If the rumors of war are confirmed, our plans will be absolutely changed. There will be a new attempt to make in Ireland." The First Consul's letters seem equally to prove that Thomas Addis Emmet had in no sense renounced the hope of a speedy revolution in Ireland, aided by the arms of the French. It is even asserted that Lord Cloncurry made part of the conspiracy; and the dépôt of arms discovered at his country house at Lyons, after the suppression of the insurrection of 1803, is given in proof. Lord Cloncurry, on the contrary, states that on the eve of Robert's departure from Paris, himself and Thomas Addis Emmet dined with him; together they weighed the chances of success; and not finding them, on mature consideration, to be sufficient, they made, he says, "vain efforts to dissuade the young enthusiast from engaging in so perilous an enterprise." Between these two versions it is difficult to get at the truth. The story of the denial of St. Peter is always that of affairs which fail of success; every one pretends to have discouraged the very thing which he perhaps strongly counselled. Whatever Lord Cloncurry and Thomas Addis Emmet may have really thought, we may well believe that Ireland's hour for armed resistance had gone by. There are always strong reasons against the renewal of effort after failure in the grave and perilous step in revolutions. Nothing at that period was changed in the situation of this unhappy country; and the promises made at the time of the act of union had been in no sense kept, which was a fresh aggravation of her wrongs. Still, a certain spirit of gentleness and moderation had succeeded to the violence of oppression, since Ireland had sunk from the rank of a nation to that of a province. In this light Lord Hardwick's administration and the Addington ministry were unlike those of Pitt and Lord Castlereagh.

In fine, if one wished to discriminate between the two brothers, one might say that the elder was irreproachable, while the other, though so truly worthy of profound interest, is not wholly blameless. And yet sympathy and admiration will always be given to these desperate and heroic attempts of parties and of nations to escape the fate that weighs them down.

"Que vouliez-vous qu'il bit contre trois?"

Such errors are ever, as has been said of the philosophical ones of Leibnitz, the titles of humanity to glory.

Before departing for Ireland, Robert Emmet had a last interview with the First Consul, and received from him assurances that hostilities should commence in the month of May, and that the disembarkation of the French army should take place in August. All was planned so as to make the rising in Ireland simultaneous with the expedition to England. There terminated the negotiations with the First Consul. Robert Emmet always testifies an invincible repugnance to go farther, and to draw the French to the Irish soil. Who can tell what might have chanced if the expedition had taken place, and the Dublin insurrection succeeded? These suppositions, apart from the idea of historic fatality, have nothing in them strange or impossible. Those who see events necessarily born of each other should apply to the foretelling of the future the laws which seem so clear to them in the past. The slightest experience of revolutions shows, however, on the contrary, what a part the unforeseen plays in this world. At a certain hour, without any visible cause, the wheel turns one way; it might just as well have turned the opposite one. Such was the opinion of the First Consul. With his marvellous instinct and his profound experience, he knew that the course of the greatest events often depends on the slightest circumstances. "What regulates the destinies of empires?" said he at Saint Helena. "If, instead of the expedition to Egypt, I had undertaken that of Ireland—if little incidents had not deranged my expedition to Boulogne—where would England have been to-day?"

To avert suspicion, Robert Emmet returned to Ireland by the way of Holland and England. At Amsterdam he parted from his brother, whom he was never again to behold. Decided, as far as himself was concerned, to interfere no more with the destinies of Ireland and to become a citizen of America, Thomas Addis Emmet strove to take his young brother with him, and gave him, in parting, counsels of prudence, which, for his own happiness at least, he would have done better to follow.

TO BE CONTINUED.

* Lord Castlereagh was unflinching in all this course of arrogance and contempt for humanity, "and what would you say, my Lord," cried an honest member of Parliament to whom he had just offered the most impudent bribery, "if I should make public what you propose?" "What should I say?" replied the imperturbable Lord Castlereagh, fronting the member with his fine face, and that light-eyed metallic look which was all his own—"I should probably deny it; and of us two, it is not you who are the best swordsman and pistol-shot." Every one knows that Lord Castlereagh, Irish by birth, began his career in the ranks of the patriotic opposition; and then, changing sides, made his political fortune by delivering up to England the interests and honor of his country.

* The First Consul himself furnished the motto of the colors to be forwarded to the Irish brigade. The flag was green; on one side was inscribed, *The Independence of Ireland*—on the other, *Liberty of Conscience.*

RELAXATION OF QUAKERISM.

From The London Times of December 18.

We do not know to what exact class to annex the event we are going to note. It is not a literary event or a political event, or a commercial event; we suppose it is a half social, half religious event—the relaxation of Quakerism. Yes, even Quakerism gives way at last; it is obliged to bow to all-powerful time and fashion, to show that it is not immutable nor eternal. Who can wonder at the decadence of the British Constitution when the broad-brim—adamantine institution, emblem of fixedness and constancy—betrays a perishable nature? The admission of Jews to Parliament and the downfall of the barriers of Quakerism in one year are a remarkable coincidence; and when we have to add that the same year has witnessed an eclipse of the sun and a comet of extraordinary magnitude, we begin to feel superstitious. The Quakers are about to adopt two important changes. The first is an internal change, and not one to strike society; it is a demolition of a particular barrier which has hitherto separated a certain inner Quaker Church from an outer one. Marriage is the subject in connection with which this change takes place. The true or formal Quaker Church has not hitherto recognized the marriages of the outer Church—that is, it has not allowed these marriages to be performed according to the forms of Quakerism. This distinction is now to be removed, and the true Quakers, as well as the heathen and publican Quakers, are to be married Quakerwise. What this new arrangement amounts to is the fusion of the inner and outer Church of Quakerism into one Society. The next change is on a subject of which the world at large takes cognizance—the important subject of dress. A clause in a certain disciplinary formula, which has always hitherto been imposed on members of the Society, relating to "plainness of apparel," and which by a traditionary interpretation has always been taken to signify the regular Quaker costume, is to be removed, and the Quaker conscience is to be free in its choice of dress. The same disciplinary clause has also imposed "plainness of speech," and this, too, has, by traditional interpretation, been understood as enjoining the use of the "thee" and "thou." The removal of it, then, leaves the Quaker conscience free in the matter of speech as well as in that of dress.

This new arrangement, we believe, is not made before the exigencies of the Society itself have required it. The Quakers have been for a long time a numerically declining body; their sons and daughters repudiate these absurd restraints upon dress, and, as families rise to wealth and station, they leave the Society. A middling class whose trading interests are connected with Quakerism is orthodox enough, but the tendency of the higher members of the communion is to apostasy. There must be a remedy for this evil, and, to prevent the snares of the world from carrying off too many loose members, Quakerism has at last made a modified alliance with the vanities of life, allowed a partial ingress of the world's ways into its own body, and so accommodated its rule to the tastes of the weaker brothers and sisters.

This is the gradual but certain result of all formal and traditional protests against the fashions of the world. Quakerism has been a protest of this kind; that is the object at which its distinctive dress and its peculiarities of speech have aimed; and the early life of Quakerism was, in its own eccentric way, a real fulfilment of this object. The Quaker had then the spirit as well as the form of a protest against the world; it was not a very discreet spirit of reclamation, but it was a real one. But bodies never keep up very long their early spirit and the temper of their original formation; they modify and modify, the world creeps in in another shape; broad-brims and drab and frightful bonnets cannot keep it out. The demon of finery, on finding itself excluded from shape and color, takes refuge in material, and fastens with determination upon that single article, resolved to get as much out of that one element of dress as the loose world does out of all the elements together—perhaps more, the taste having the advantage of being condensed upon one point, instead of being dissipated over several. The Quaker ladies have always been famous for the exquisite delicacy of their materials. The Quaker men have been prosperous tradesmen and shop-keepers, living very comfortably, and certainly paying not less attention to their pecuniary interests than the generality of the world does. This is the natural progress of a religious body which started in a vehement spirit of remonstrance against the vanities of the world, and is committed by that start to certain modes and forms of protest, which it keeps up, while it cannot in the nature of the case keep up the real spirit of it. Individuals may protest against the world; they feel the inspiration of that comparison between temporal and eternal things which annihilates the former at a stroke and leaves the invisible world, with its mystical permanence, sublimity, and glory, the only reality in nature. Individuals can *feel* all this, it can be real with them, it can enter into their very heart and soul; individuals, then, can protest forcibly against the vanities of life, and their protests will be felt; it will summon forth kindred spirits to assist in it, and it will command the respect even of those who do not join in it. But the protest of *bodies* against the world is all moonshine; bodies of men *are* the world; it does not matter one straw how they dress, whether in trousers and boots or in knee-breeches and gaiters, whether their colors are drab and brown, or green, blue and claret, whether they wear cloth buttons or brass; it does not signify what forms of language they use, what numbers, singular or plural; bodies of men *are* the world, they always have been, and they always will be, and, therefore, they cannot protest very forcibly against the world. The enthusiasm of a first start may produce a singleness of religious life; but this is a most evanescent state; they become very soon regular mixtures of good, bad and indifferent. How, then, does a body continue its protest against this visible system of society when the early spirit has departed? By means of forms and outsides. The Quaker man protests by his broad-brim and drab breeches; the lady by her plain bonnet of cardboard and silk, and a gown of severe straightness. What does the world care about such a protest as this? Not one straw. It knows perfectly well what the Quaker body is—that it is a mixed body of all sorts, just like itself, and it takes its demonstration accordingly. In point of mere externals, the world does not want now the stern reprimand which old Fox gave it two centuries ago. The men, at least, no longer wear rich gold-laced coats; they no longer stuff their speech with false compliments and fine superlatives—still less with indelicacies and obscenities. But, whether the world does or does not want reprimanding now, the Quaker body is not the proper administerer of the blow. It would be difficult to point to anything less effective and influential as a memento against worldly vanity than Quakerism. Everybody understands it, takes its solemnities for granted, ranks them as a respectable, quaint tradition of a sect, excuses the eccentricity, and is decidedly amused by it. That is the result of the great Quaker manifesto, the standing memento of broad-brims. We think it very sensible of them to give up these oddities, but society will mix its congratulations with regret. The Quaker costume has become historical; it is like an old familiar friend in the streets—we shall miss it. When some old resident has gone away from a place, whether by the summons of death or any other summons, we say we do not know the place again. Will England be itself without the Quaker broad-brim? There is room, if not for ominous apprehensions, at least for a little sentimentality, some fond regrets, some last long lingering looks behind; but, whether we like it not, the progress of common sense cannot be stopped.

For The Standard.

THE TWO VOICES.

In the dim December twilight,
By the fire I mused alone;
And a voice within me murmured
In a deep, impassioned tone—

Murmured first, and then grew stronger,
Wilder in its thrilling strain—
"Break, sad heart, for, oh, no longer
Canst thou bear this ceaseless pain.

"Canst thou bear the bitter anguish,
All the wrong, and woe, and shame
That the world hath heaped upon thee,
Though it hath no cause for blame?

"True it is that thou dost give it
Hate for hate, and scorn for scorn;
True it is that thou would'st gladly
Make it bear what thou hast borne.

"But does such a vengeful spirit
Soothe thee, make thee calm and strong?
No; thy inmost life it poisons,
Makes the strife more fierce and long.

"Would'st thou live, oh, foolish dreamer?
What to thee are life and joy?
Know'st thou not the cruel future
All thy visions shall destroy?

"Would'st thou live, oh, homeless outcast,
Tossed upon life's restless wave?
Thou canst find a haven only
In the quiet of the grave.

"There a sweet and soothing stillness
From thee never shall depart;
There the angel Peace shall fold thee
Closely to her loving heart."

To the earnest voice I hearkened,
And within my troubled breast
Deeper, stronger grew the longing
For the blessed boon of rest.

"Grant," I prayed, "O gracious Father!
Grant the simple boon I crave,
Let me leave this weary conflict,
Let me rest within the grave!"

Deep the silence that succeeded;
Gleamed the firelight warm and bright,
But, for me, its warmth and brightness
Gladdened not the cold, dark night.

But, without, the dreary night-wind,
With its wild and mournful moan,
From the sad soul of the pine trees,
Found an echo in my own.

Then another voice spake to me,
Spake in accents strong and clear;
Like the proud notes of a trumpet
Fell its tones upon my ear.

"Shame," it cried, "oh, weak repiner!
Hast thou yielded to despair?
Canst thou win the crown immortal
If the cross thou wilt not bear?

"Hast thou nothing left to live for?
Would'st thou leave the glorious strife?
Know, the life that's passed in struggling
Is the true, the only life.

"Canst thou see the souls around thee
Bravely battling with the wrong,
And not feel thy soul within thee
In the cause of Truth grow strong?

"Art thou, then, the only wronged one?
With thy sorrows will all cease?
Thou forgettest other sufferers,
In thy selfish prayer for peace.

"Live for others; work for others;
Sharing, strive to soothe their woe,
Till thy heart, no longer fainting,
With an ardent zeal shall glow.

"Of thyself thou art unworthy,
False to all thy early vows,
If thy once unbending spirit
Now beneath its burden bows.

"Prayest thou for death? pray, rather,
For the strength to live, and bear
All thy wrongs with brave endurance.
Scorn to yield thee to despair;

"Knowing that to strive and suffer,
With a purpose pure and high,
In a holy cause, is nobler
Than ingloriously to die.

"Sweet the grave's unbroken quiet
To thy aching heart would be;
But, believe, to live for others
Is a higher destiny."

Ceased the voice; again, in silence,
By the fire I mused alone;
Darkly closed the night around me;
But my soul had stronger grown.

And I said—"I thank Thee, Father,
For the answer Thou hast given.
Bravely will I bear earth's burdens,
Ere I pray to rest in heaven."

Philadelphia, Dec., 1858. C. L. F.

A CURIOUS DISCOVERY.

The *Moniteur* contains a report to Prince Napoleon, Minister of Algeria and the Colonies, from M. Renier of the Institute, giving an account of a singular discovery of a stone tablet containing a Customs tariff of the time of Septimus Severus—that is, of the 202d year of the Christian era. It was found in the ruins of Zarai, the ancient Celonia Julia Zarai, situated in the subdivision of Batna, in the district occupied by the tribe of the Ouled Sellam; the finders of it were some men employed in digging foundations for a mill for the Caid of the place, one Si Moktar. An impression of the tariff having been taken in oil-paper, by an Italian mason, and transmitted to Paris, the imprint shows that some mutilations exist in the tablet, but the greater part of what is cut in it can be perfectly well made out. It begins with the words: "*Imperatoribus Cæsaribus Lucia Septimio Severo et Marco Aurelio Antonino Augustis Piis Consulibus; Lex portus post discessum cohortis instituta,*" which is—"The Emperors and Cæsars Lucius Septimus Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, pious and august, being Consuls, Customs regulations established after the departure of the cohort." It then goes on to specify, in separate divisions, and item by item, the duties to be paid for various objects.

In the first division, entitled "Duties to be paid per head," are the following: "A hare, 1 1-2 denarii (this coin was worth about 8d.); a horse or a mare, 1 1-2; a mule, 1 1-2; a pig (indistinct); a sucking pig, —; a sheep or a goat, —"; and a note says that "cattle pay per piece." The next division is for skins, but the duties are effaced: "A skin completely prepared, —; a skin unprepared, —; a horse, or goat skin, —; *cordiscum* per lb., —; *vopa* per quintal —; glue per 10 lb. —; sponges per 10 lb. —." The next division runs as follows: "Principal Customs regulation: Pasture animals and beasts of burden are exempt from duty; for other things see the chapter which concerns them. An amphora of wine, ——; an amphora of date wine, ——; dates per quintal, 1-2 den.; figs per quintal, ——; —— per 10 bushels, ——; nuts per 10 bushels, ——; and turpentine for lamps——." The colony of Zarai, to which this tariff applies, was, between 136 and 139 of the Christian era, the garrison of a cohort, and it is probable that up to the year 202 the cohort charged to defend the frontiers of the empire was exempted from Customs duties. The colony was situated on one of the most frequented roads which led from the desert to the Cesarian Mauritania.

Among the objects mentioned in the tariff are some which are still made in the oasis of Ziband and Bled el Djerid, in the south of the Regency of Tunis. For example, the "light colored tunics" are evidently the haics which wealthy Arabs wear at present, and which have lately been used by European ladies as shawls; the *saga* are now the *gandouras* which form the insignia of command in the Regency of Tunis; and the bed-coverings are perhaps the gayly-colored blankets which are still used in those parts. The date wine is not the same as palm-wine, but was a fermented liquor which readily intoxicated. Pliny makes mention of it, and it is now replaced in the oasis by a sort of alcohol made from figs. The meaning of the words *cordiscum* and *vopa* is not very clear, but perhaps they are not very correctly copied. It has hitherto been supposed that the Customs duties of the Roman Empire were uniformly the 40th part of the value of the goods—that sum having been levied in Italy, Sicily, the two Gauls, Asia Minor, Bithynia, Pontus and Paphlagonia; but the tablet which has now been found proves that the duties were not uniform.

It proves, also, that in Africa, at all events, they were inferior to one-fortieth of the value; thus, Papinianus, a law-writer who lived in the time of Septimus Severus, states that the legal price of slaves was fixed at 20 gold pieces, or 500 denarii, the fortieth part of which is 12 1-2 den.; but, as may be seen, only 11 1-2 are inscribed in the tariff. Again, the Theodosian code, which was drawn up previously to the year 401 of our era, fixes the prices of horses for the cavalry in Numidia at 400 den., the fortieth part of which is 10; yet the duty on horses in the tariff is only 1 1-2. The exemption from duty of oxen destined for the markets, and of pasturage of animals, is explained by the fact that the government levied market and pasture taxes on them, and could not, consequently, make them pay twice over; and as to the exemption of beasts of burden, it is no doubt owing to the consideration that it would have been unjust to tax both the goods and the animal which carried them.—*Galignani's Messenger.*

BRAIN WORK.

Over-work of the brain, against which we hear so many people cry, and which we hear so many cosy-looking men deplore very complacently in their own persons, is not by a good deal so dangerous as under-work of the brain, that rare and obscure calamity from which nobody is supposed ever to suffer. The Rev. Onesimus Howl drops his chin and elevates his eyes, upsets his digestion with excess of tea and muffin, and supports, upon the doughy face he thus acquires, a reputation for the great strain on his brains caused by the outpourings of a weekly puddle of words. His friends labor to prop up his brain with added piles of muffin. Paler becomes his face, and more idiotic his expression, as he lives from New Year's-day to New Year's-day, rattling about in his empty head the few ideas of other men he has contrived to borrow, and tranquillity claims all the sweets of indulgence on account of the strain put upon his wits. Doctor Porpice is wheeled about from house to house in his brougham, prescribes his cordials and his mild aperients; treats, by help of what knowledge gathered from a past generation may happen to have grown into his habit of practice, all the disease he sees; now and then turns to a book when he is puzzled, but more commonly dozes after dinner. Yet very gladly does the doctor hear the talk about immense strain upon his mind, large practice, great responsibility, and the wondering that one poor head can carry all he knows. He seldom passes a day without having taken care to confide to somebody that he is over-worked. Once a week, indeed, if his practice be large, he may be forced into some effort to use his brains, but that he does really exercise them once a week, I am not certain. The lawyer elevates his routine into a crush of brain-work. The author and the merchant flatter themselves, or account themselves flattered, by an application to their labors also of the same complimentary condolence. The truth is, that hard work of the brain, taken alone—apart from griefs